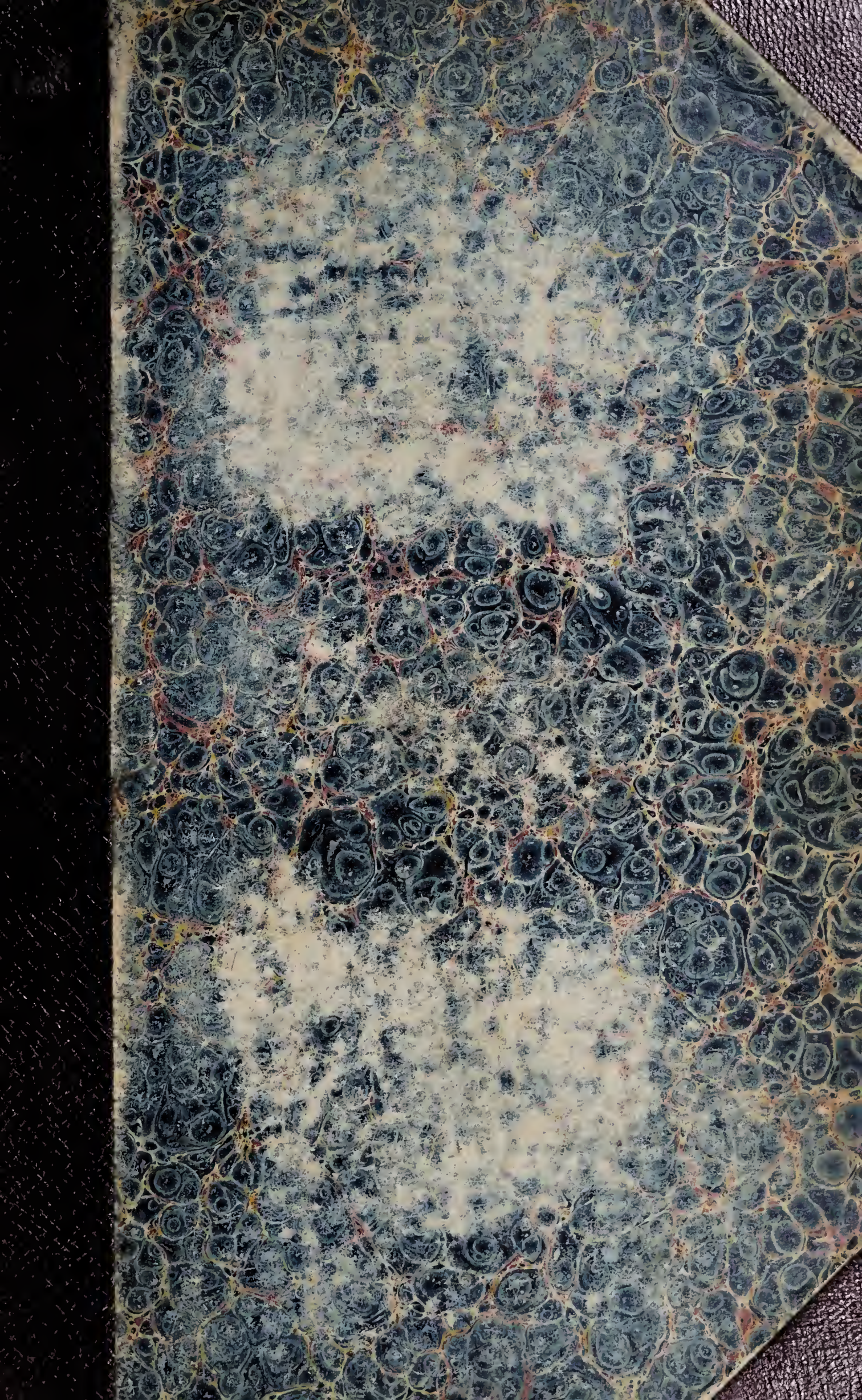

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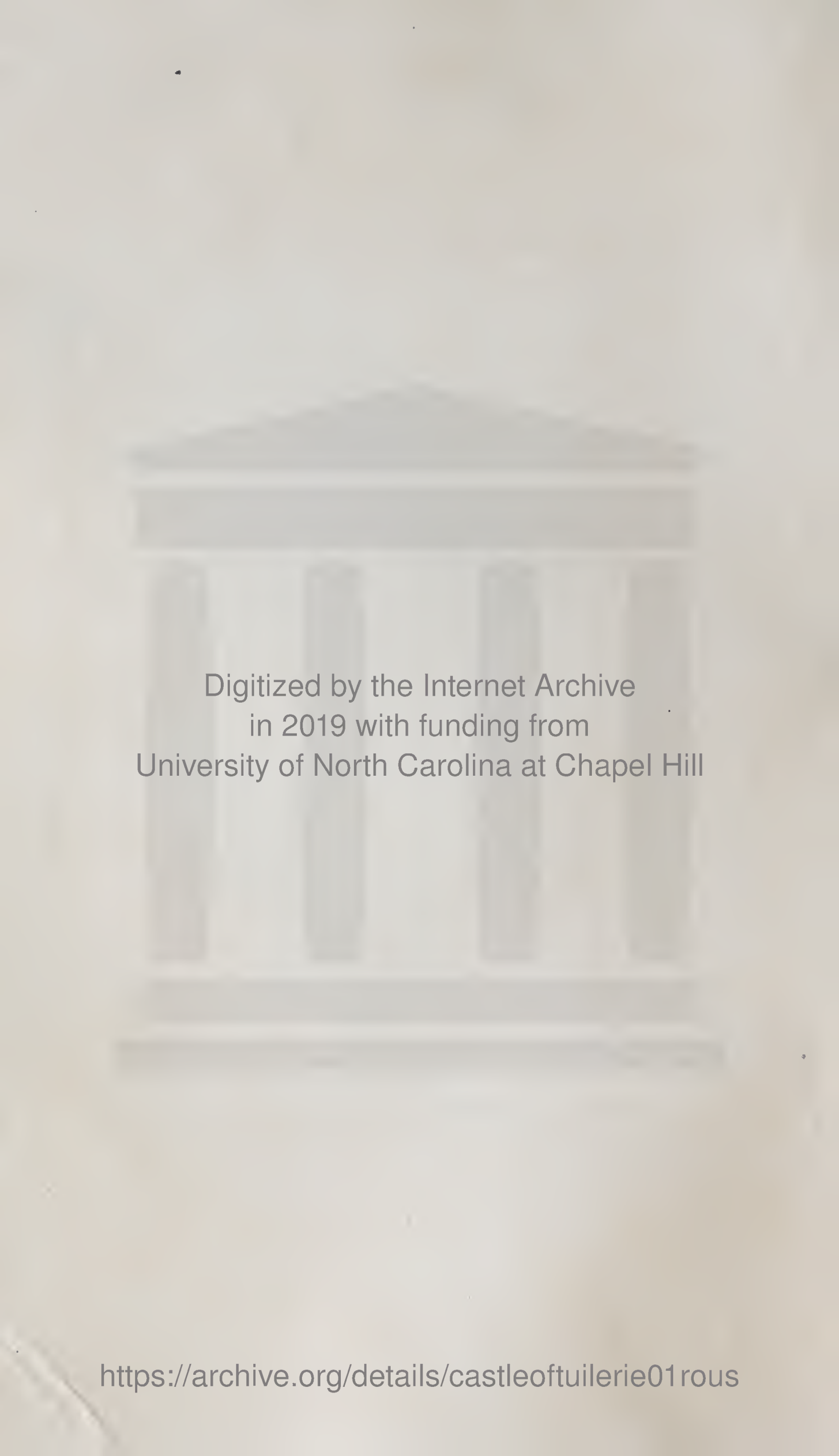
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THE

CASTLE

OF THE

TUILERIES:

OR,

A NARRATIVE

OF ALL THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE
IN THE INTERIOR OF THAT PALACE,
FROM THE TIME OF ITS CONSTRUCTION
TO THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF THE YEAR VIII.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

By FRANCIS LATHOM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. N. LONGMAN AND O. REES, PATER-
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1803.

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE hiſtory of the French Revolution is to authors like a great tree divided amongſt ſeveral workmen. One turns his lot into figures, another into furniture. Thus one author extracts from this hiſtory memoirs, or tracts, whilſt another compoſes from it poems, or a collection of anecdotes. From the lot which has fallen to my ſhare I have ventured to make this book.

As the greateſt part of the facts and anecdotes related in it happened in the caſtle of the Tuileries, the name of this edifice naturally ſtruck me as being the beſt title for my work. I know, that after having written a book, it is not ſufficient to give it a ſingular and ſtriking name, but that this name ought to inform the reader

in ſome meaſure of the taſk which the author has undertaken to fulfil, and that the author ought not to belie the title, by the contents of his book. That I have attained both theſe ends, I am bold enough to believe.

The viſit of Lord Bedfort* to the Tuileries, after the 10th of Auguſt, is not the work of imagination, as it may be thought. It is the exact truth, which can be atteſted by the Citizen Chardin, a bookſeller who correſponds with him, and by thoſe perſons who at that time compoſed the commiſſion of the furniture of this palace, and who are ſtill alive. The greateſt part of them can vouch for my Lord having examined every thing with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, aſking many queſtions, and taking down notes of all. The only deviation from the truth which I have allowed myſelf, is, to have interrupted, by walks about Paris, the Duke's viſits to the palace, which were ſucceſſive. I have made uſe of

* See a note upon the Contents of Chap. iv.

this

this erration merely to avoid monotony, and to throw ſome variety into my narrative.

Whilſt ſitting at my deſk, I have ſeen Criticiſm ſtanding behind my chair, and following with her eye every line I write; ſhe muſt have made a charming harveſt. I hear her reproaching me with want of reſpect to ſociety, in tearing the maſk from the follies and conduct of certain individuals. My book is my excuſe. Whoever undertakes to write hiſtorical facts, without the vanity of ſuppoſing that they will deſcend to poſterity, muſt, if they do, appear before that poſterity as an accuſed man before his judge. If he keeps back the truth, a thouſand witneſſes of it appear againſt him; and as an author owes more regard to truth than to man, to poſterity than to his cotemporaries, he ought to have the courage to ſpeak out. Moreover, what is paſſed over in ſilence, from fear, from delicacy, or from neceſſity, is generally what it is moſt important to divulge. If thoſe whom I mention

here

here ſhould raiſe their voice in complaints againſt me, I tell them my anſwer beforehand; "In deviating from the high road of virtue and honour, you have broken through all ſocial bonds, and have thus renounced all right to thoſe conſiderations which they demand."

Criticiſm may with juſtice attack the ſtyle of this work: and as I do not lay claim to any literary elegance, it is at liberty ſo to do; I will not even call in as an excuſe for myſelf other works of a ſimilar kind, amongſt which I ſhould hardly know where to chooſe; but they are thoſe nevertheleſs which have emboldened me. Without their example, and without having witneſſed the favourable reception they have met with in the world, I ſhould never have felt bold enough to expoſe myſelf to public cenſure.

Provided I hear my reader ſay, "I have found in this book, '*which it is impoſſible to read*,' ſome curious facts, and amuſing paſſages,

paſſages, I ſhall eaſily conſole myſelf for not being able to compoſe books, '*ſo excellently written*,' that you can find nothing in them to be pleaſed with, and ſo muſt fall aſleep over them."

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

ITS Origin.—By whom built.—From whence its Name was derived.—Its Enlargement under Louis XIV.—The Style of its Architecture.—Its Garden under Catherine of Medicis—laid out differently to the present one.—The first Fête given in this Palace, on the Marriage of the King of Navarre with Catharine de Valois.—A pantomimic Engagement between Angels and Devils represented at it.—A Description of that Fête.—Its concealed Design.—Catherine of Medicis from Superstition refuses any longer to inhabit the Tuileries. Page 1

CHAP. II.

Residence of Louis XIV. at the Palace of the Tuileries.—Louis XV. inhabits it during his Minority.—Peter the First visits the Infant King there.—The Regent causes a Bed of Justice to be held there.—The Palace is left under the Care of a Governor.—Under what Police it was governed. Adventures and Anecdotes which have passed in its Gardens. 16

CHAP. III.

Louis the XVI. is forced away from his Palace at Versailles with his Family.—They are conducted to the Tuileries.—State of this Palace on their Arrival there.—Distribution of the Chambers to each Individual.—Description of those assigned to the King and his Family.—Account of the Garden of the Dauphin.—The King makes a Change in his Habits.—His new Occupations.—Anecdotes:—Upon the 20th of June 1792, and upon the Confederation in 1790.—The King melts some Silver.—The Use he makes of his Ingots —Journey to Varennes.—The Queen goes to the Opera.—A Centinel prevents the King leaving his Apartment.—Account, and Anecdotes of the King's Constitutional Guard. 44

CHAP. IV.

Lord Bedfort pays a Viſit to the Tuileries.—Similarity between the Misfortunes of Charles the Firſt, and thoſe of Louis XVI. —State of the Interior of the Pavilion of Medicis.—Account of the Robberies committed upon it.—Fate of the Sceptre, and the Royal Crown.—The Republic proclaimed from the Furniture of the Crown.—Search after ſome Papers in a ſpot mentioned by Marat.—The platonic Amours of Eugene and Adelaide.—Facts hitherto unknown about the Departure of the King's Aunts. Page 87

CHAP. V.

A ſhort View of the Character of all Claſſes of Society before the Revolution.—Its Origin.—Cauſes of its ſo ſudden Developement.—Different Anecdotes about Malſherbes, Turgot, and Necker.—Necker propoſes to Louis XVI. to place a Rouë *at the Head of the Finance.—Cauſe of the Diſcharge of Sertines, and the Nomination of Caſtries.—Quarrels between Calonne and Necker.—The different Means employed by the latter to get into Place again.—His Letters to Louis XVI.—Obſervations on the 10th of Auguſt.—Coup d'œil of the Palace of the Tuileries after the Irruption into it.* 116

CHAP. VI.

Diſturbance produced in the Coffee-houſe of de Foi by an Agent of Orleans.—Portrait of this Man.—Viſit to the Ground Floor of the Palace, on the Side of the Court.—Rencontre with the Miniſter Rolland; his Fears.—Private Anecdotes of this Miniſter.—Amours of his Wife.—Means employed by her to keep him out of her Way.—The Wine of the Emigrants drunk by the Miniſters.—Pillage of the Palace by the Members of the Commune. —Manner of emptying the Secretaries.—Diſcovery of the gilt Service of Plate uſed in the King's Chapel;—Place where it was concealed.—Political and amorous Correſpondence between a Lady of the Court and a Biſhop.—Hiſtorical Anecdotes. 178

CHAP. VII.

A Visit to the Coffee-houses.—Their Physiognomy.—Perfidious Invention of a Newspaper Editor.—An extraordinary Stratagem used to avoid the Proscription.—Republican Baptism.—The walking Orator.—Origin of the Word Sans Culotte.—Tumultuous Sitting of the National Convention.—Origin of the Word Insurrection.—Dinner, where they fabricate different Motions.—Cabal at which the Question was discussed of establishing a Republic in France.—A short Revision of ancient and modern Republics.—Anecdotes about the Theft of the Jewels of the Crown—and of different Deputies.—Assembly of Les Cordeliers.—Assembly of the Jacobins.—Near Resemblance of the Cordeliers supported by Orleans, and the Red-brothers protected by Cromwell. Page 221

CHAP. VIII.

Visit to the Ground Floor of the Palace of the Tuileries on the Side next the Garden.—Examination of the King's private Cabinet.—His List of private Charities.—By whom distributed.—His open Account with the Queen.—Other Expences entered in the same Book.—A Register in which Louis XVI. wrote every Transaction of each Day of his Life from the Age of fourteen.—The King's Boudoir, and what Use he made of it.—His Books of Devotion in which he had written some Prayers of his own Composition.—The King's Tools for Smith's Work.—His Labours in this Way.—Punishment of one of the Pilferers of the Tuileries.—The King's Work-shop.—Anecdotes of the President D'Aligre and Rousseau.—Anecdotes about the Mournings, the Ceremonies of the Court, the Nobility, the Iron Mask, the Wife of Louis XV., the King of Poland her Father, and the Marchioness of Pompadour.—Louis XVI.'s Manner of Working.—Anecdote of Condé, and Conti.—The King accuses Monsieur of Impertinence; upon what Account; Cause of the Coolness between the brothers.—Plans for Restoration presented to the King by Montmorin.—Anecdotes of that Minister. 277

CHAP. IX.

Precautions taken by the Court at the Time of regiſtering the Edicts of May 1788.—*The Spies privately ſent by it to the Parliaments.*—*Who are the firſt that demand the double Repreſentation of the Tiers-Etat.*—*Erection of a Bulletin for the King alone.*—*It ceaſes to be made at the Departure of Montmorin.*—*Letter of Barentin to the King, upon the Bills of Grievances, one of which requires the Suppreſſion of the Nobility.*—*The Advice given to the King.*—*Newſpapers commanded by the King to be iſſued.*—*Who were the Editors of the Papers on both Sides.*—*Predictions made to Louis XVI. of his Fall, and of that of the Throne.*—*Deſpotiſm of the Miniſter Rolland.*—*Diſcovery of the Queen's Diamonds.*—*Sale of the King's Wardrobe.*—*Form of delivering out the Effects of the Tuileries after the* 10*th of Auguſt.*

Page 331

THE

THE CASTLE OF THE TUILERIES.

CHAP. I.

Its Origin.—By whom built.—From whence its Name was derived.—Its Enlargement under Louis XIV.—The Style of its Architecture.—Its Garden under Catherine of Medicis—laid out differently to the preſent one.—The firſt Fête given in this Palace, on the Marriage of the King of Navarre with Catherine de Valois.—A pantomimic Engagement between Angels and Devils repreſented at it.—A Deſcription of that Fête.—Its concealed Deſign.—Catherine of Medicis from Superſtition refuſes any longer to inhabit the Tuileries.

CHARLES the Ninth wore the crown, and Catherine of Medicis, his mother, reigned, at the time the palace of the Tuileries was built. Paris did not then contain within its boundaries that part of it which is at the preſent day ſo much admired: it then conſiſted only of ſome woods and a few ſcattered habitations. On the very ſpot,

where this palace, now ſo celebrated, ſtands, was then a tile manufactory. Catherine, who wiſhed to enlarge Paris on that ſide, viſited this place; the ſituation pleaſed her, and ſhe reſolved to build there what ſhe herſelf called L'Hôtellerie Royale, and what is now known by the name of the Tuileries *.

The two moſt able French architects, Philebert de Lorme, and Jean Bulau, were employed

* In 1566, were begun the walls of this incloſure, which was marked out under the name of *La Porte neuve*. On the 12th of July in the ſame year, the firſt ſtone was laid in the preſence of the king and his mother. Under the firſt ſtone, ſays *Dubreul* in his antiquities, are buried ſome pieces of ſilver gilt, weighing about three *teſtons* *, bearing on one ſide the profile of the king, with this inſcription; *Carolus nonus Galliarum rex Chriſtianiſſimus*: and on the other, that of the queen, his mother, with theſe words; *Catherina regina, Henrici ſecundi uxor, Franciſci et Caroli regum mater*. And upon the ſtone was cut: D. Catherina regina, R. R. mater, anno Chriſti 1556.

Saint Foix has made a remark worth noticing upon the name of this place. The moſt beautiful garden of Athens, ſays he, was called the *Tuileries*, or the *Ceramique*, becauſe it was planted, like ours, upon a ſpot of ground, where tiles had heretofore been made. *Ceramique* comes from *Keramikos*, which means a tile-kiln.

* *Teſton* was a piece of money worth twenty-two ſous. There were ſome of leſs value. Thoſe of Metz were worth twenty ſous, and thoſe of Lorraine and Straſbourg paſſed only for twelve *gros*, that is to ſay, about twelve ſous of our coin.

to draw out the plan, which they preſented in 1564. And about the end of May in the ſame year, the work was begun.

This palace conſiſted then only of the lofty pavillion in the centre, the two flat-roofed ranges of apartments on the ſides; and the two adjoining pavillions, which at the preſent day are ſcarcely noticed. The large pavillion, by no means ſo elevated as it now is, appears to have been the only part of the building which exerciſed the genius of the firſt architects. In the columns which adorn it, they have united the Ionian and Corinthian orders. The columns of the firſt order are ornamented with bands of various ſculpture cut in marble; on the ſide next to the garden only, theſe ſame orders are of ſtone.

Such was at its origin the palace of the Tuileries. I will not put my readers out of humour by unentertaining details of the changes, augmentations, and embelliſhments which were made by Henry IV.* and Louis XIII. I ſhall content myſelf with remarking that in 1664, exactly one

* Henry IV. completed the grand front, upon which is engraved this inſcription: *Perennitati invictiſſimi principis de bello et pace triumphantis.*

century after its erection, Louis the Fourteenth employed the architect Louis Levau to enlarge it to the size of which we now see it: at that time were added the two pavillions which form the wings, and they were joined to the former ones by the side apartments; which now renders the whole a continued building. Levau was obliged to raise the pavillioh in the centre that it might correspond with the rest of the work. It was he who added the third order of architecture, with an attic. These alterations necessarily destroyed those proportions which the connoisseurs so rigidly demand; but notwithstanding this defect, which the very minute examiners of this edifice reproach it with, they are nevertheless agreed that next to the Louvre, the palace of the Tuileries is the most beautiful structure in Europe; and although there are different opinions about the architecture, they are equally agreed in admiring the grand *coup d'oeil* which this building presents. If there is any thing that shocks the eye, it is that raised building which the Convention have caused to be erected on the centre pavillion, under the foolish idea of establishing a telegraph there; and I cannot imagine, why, on renouncing their

design,

deſign, they did not cauſe this uſeleſs piece of wood-work to be pulled down.

The palace of the Tuileries preſents an edifice of an hundred and ſixty-eight *toiſes* * and three feet in length; compoſed of four knots of apartments, and five pavillions, the whole connected together. The inſide is not remarkable for any particular architecture; moreover, every monarch who has inhabited it, has made ſo many changes in it, that the diſtribution of the building is entirely different to that laid out by its firſt architects.

Catherine of Medicis joined to this palace a garden, which extended as far as the Louvre †; in

* *Toiſe*, ſix feet; a fathom.

† This requires ſome explanation. This garden, as well as the palace of the Tuileries, was at that time out of Paris. On this ſide, the wall of the incloſure ran along what is now *la rue Saint Nicaiſe*, having at one end, *la porte Saint Honoré*, and at the other *la porte Neuve*, and placed between the firſt and ſecond entrances to the gallery of the Louvre. *L'Etoile* and *Cayet* agree in their account that in 1588, Henry III. being threatened in the Louvre by the people, the ſtudents, and the monks, who were aſſembled in a body to ſeize his perſon, eſcaped ſecretly from Paris by *la porte Neuve*, entered his palace of the Tuileries, had his horſe inſtantly ſaddled for him, and, followed by ſome faithful ſervants, departed, promiſing not to re-enter Paris except by a breach. Sauval ſays that Henry IV. built the

in the middle of this was dug a pond, always filled with fiſh which ſupplied the table of the court. She herſelf, and Charles IX. her ſon, often amuſed themſelves with fiſhing in it. When Louis XIV. enlarged the palace, he metamorphoſed this garden to that immenſe plain on which he gave the famous tournament, which aſſembled together knights from every quarter of Europe. Here I might take an opportunity to give a deſcription of this ſumptuous fête, to tell of the valour of the combatants, the ſplendour of the ladies, and the loves of both; but I hear my readers begging for mercy, and I am ſilent.

Louis XIV. employed the celebrated Le Notre to plan him out this garden, which is ſo juſtly admired by ſtrangers *. Notwithſtanding the unevenneſs of the ground, he laid out this maſter-piece which is beautifying every day. I ſhall not enter into any detail of the ingenious diſpoſition of this garden, nor of the beauties which it contains; they have been ſufficiently de-

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gallery of the Louvre, and the entrances, in order that he might be at the ſame time in, and out of, Paris. His deſign was to have continued it up to the Tuileries as we ſee it at the preſent day.

* The garden of the Tuileries, comprehends a ſpace of ground, of 360 *toiſes* in length, and 168 in breadth.

ſcribed

ſcribed already. Thoſe who wiſh for an explanation of the ſculpture which it is adorned with, may conſult the work of *Millin* which is entirely dedicated to that ſubject. I have only intended to give a brief account of this ſpot, ſo fatal to Frenchmen, before I enter upon the detail of thoſe intrigues and cabals, which are interwoven with it. Moreover in the work which is going to be offered to the reader, I ſhall be ſo ſtrongly compelled to point out particular ſpots and ſituations, that he may in ſome meaſure learn the moſt minute account of the diſtribution of the palace; every apartment, every window, having been the witneſs of ſome particular event.

Scarcely was the palace of the Tuileries completed, before Catherine of Medicis cloſeted herſelf with the cardinal of Lorraine, and ſome other conſpirators, to plot the horrible maſſacre of that portion of Frenchmen, whoſe tenets offended the monſtrous power of the popes, and whoſe ſpirit of independence alarmed the deſpotiſm of the kings. Catherine and the prelate conceived the deſign of pointing out their victims to their murderers; and that their plan might ſucceed, it was agreed to give a fête upon

the marriage of Marguerite of Valois with the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. The palace of the Tuileries was choſen for the occaſion, and there was repreſented a ſpectacle deſcribing a combat between the inhabitants of paradiſe and thoſe of hell. The artifice was ſo coarſely woven, that they ſelected for the inhabitants of hell, all the Huguenots, at the head of whom was placed the king of Navarre *; and to defend paradiſe, the papiſts, commanded by Charles IX. and his brothers. It appeared, however, that notwithſtanding this marked diſtinction of men of different opinions, the Huguenots had not a ſuſpicion of the maſſacre under which they ſuffered four days after.

If almoſt all the authors who have written upon this epoch of our hiſtory, have ſpoken but ſuperficially of this fête, which may be conſidered as the awful forerunner of the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew, it ought not to excite ſurpriſe. The invention of it was ſo horrid a barbarity,

* It is well known that Henry IV. was marked out by Catherine of Medicis as one of the victims of St. Bartholomew; that his murderers were in purſuit of him, and that he eſcaped from them almoſt by a miracle.

that

that in detailing its facts the hiſtorian would find himſelf under the neceſſity of making dreadful reflections upon the inventor of it, and of devoting her to the execration of poſterity. But as this pantomime was entirely derived from the imagination of Catherine of Medicis, an author would have been expoſing himſelf uſeleſsly to danger, ſince he could not remedy the evil. It ſignifies little to ſay that Catherine was dead, and conſequently he would have had nothing to fear. If Catherine, Charles IX., and all thoſe who were parties concerned in this maſſacre, were indeed no more at the time when a hiſtorian might happen to take up his pen to deſcribe this mad event, they had left behind them relations, and above all a ſucceſſor to the throne, who would take good care that too ſtrong a reproach ſhould not be laid upon their memory. A king always wiſhes, it is true, to be better ſpoken of, and better written of than his predeceſſor; he has no objection to ſeeing the *faults* of a foregoing reign animadverted upon, but at the ſame time he puniſhes any one who ventures to unfold without delicacy the *crimes* of the monarch to whom he ſucceeds. This conduct is a great prop to the honour of the crown; and from

the

the advantages which crowned heads derive from it, about a century generally elapſes before any author dares to write the whole truth of a monarch's life. In the courſe of that century, ſome hired flatterer publiſhes a falſe account; thoſe who had witneſſed the truth are ſilent from fear, (for few are the ſilent from choice,) they die, and all proof fades under the withering hand of time. The hiſtorian of after date finds with difficulty, and after many laborious reſearches, a few ſhreds of matter from which he can collect for publication only ſome patch-work anecdotes for his hiſtory; this was the caſe amongſt many others with Mézeray * and Paſquien. This is without doubt the reaſon of the ſilence of almoſt all hiſtorians upon the particulars of the fête of which we are ſpeaking. We have, however, met with one who has given us a full deſcription of it. Theſe are his words †:

* Mézeray ſays ſcarcely a word about this fête. "A grand ballet was given where it was impoſſible to miſtake, the prophecy, as it were, of the miſeries which were about to overwhelm the Huguenots; in this ſpectacle the king and his brothers defended paradiſe againſt the king of Navarre and his party, who were repulſed, and driven into hell."

† See Memoirs of the State of France, under Charles IX. tom. i. p. 362.

"Firſt

" Firſt of all, in the before-mentioned ſaloon, on the right hand, was ſeen paradiſe, the entrance to which was guarded by three knights armed cap à-pée; theſe were Charles IX. and his brothers. On the left hand was hell, in which were a great number of devils, and little devils, playing an infinity of monkey tricks, and making a great noiſe, with turning round a great wheel, which was placed in this hell, and hung about with bells. Paradiſe and hell were ſeparated by a river, running between them, in which was a little boat, rowed by Charon, the ferryman of hell. At one end of the ſaloon, behind paradiſe, were the Elyſian fields; deſcribed by a garden, rich in verdure and every kind of flower; over this appeared the empyrean, repreſented by a large circle bearing the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, the ſeven planets, and an infinite number of leſſer ſtars, which being tranſparent, threw out a great brilliancy of light, by means of lamps and torches, which were artfully placed behind them. The circle was in continual motion, cauſing the garden alſo to move round, in which were ſeen twelve nymphs, moſt richly habited. Wandering about the ſaloon were ſeveral parties of knights, (men of

rank, expreſsly choſen of the proteſtant religion); they were armed cap-à-pée, dreſſed in various orders, and headed by their princes (the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé), all of whom endeavouring to arrive at paradiſe, in order that they might afterwards be admitted to the nymphs in the garden, were driven off by the three knights who guarded the entrance; theſe one after the other preſented themſelves at the liſts, and having broken a ſpear with their aſſailants, and fought a round of the broad ſword, ſent them back towards hell, into which the devils and little devils then dragged them. This form of combat laſted, till all the wandering knights had been encountered, and dragged one by one into hell, which was then ſhut and locked up. An inſtant after, Mercury and Cupid deſcended from heaven upon a cock; the Mercury was that renowned ſinger, *Etienne Le Roi;* and, having reached the ground, he came and preſented himſelf to the three knights, and after a melodious ſong, he made them a ſpeech, and then returned to heaven upon his bird, ſinging all the time. Then the three knights roſe from their ſeats, croſſed paradiſe, went into the Elyſian fields, and brought out into the middle

of

of the ſaloon the twelve nymphs, who there danced a ballet of numerous changes, which laſted full an hour. The dance being finiſhed, the knights who had been confined in hell were let out, and a general combat, and the breaking of lances began. The combat being ended, fire was ſet to ſome trains of powder, which were laid round a fountain erected in the middle of the ſaloon, from whence aroſe immediately ſo great a noiſe and ſmoak, as obliged every body to retire. Such were the amuſements of that day, from which it may be eaſily conjectured what were the thoughts of the king, and of the ſecret council, during the performance of this deluſion."

It was only three days before the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew, that this fête was given; the knights confined in hell were all Huguenots, while thoſe three who guarded paradiſe were Roman-Catholics. Catherine, the abominable Catherine, ſelected them herſelf. Who then can now doubt that this fête was given by her in order to inſtruct or at leaſt to prepare her ſon Charles IX. for taking a part in the maſſacre, in which he certainly did become an actor? Are we not almoſt compelled to believe that we ſee this

this female monſter ſmiling at the defeat of her victims, and drinking, by anticipation, of their blood?

Notwithſtanding all the horror which the ſole remembrance of this event inſpires, there have not only been found men who have wiſhed to frame excuſes for it, but who have even ventured to make apologies for it. It is true that in our days we have ſeen beings ſufficiently daring to maintain the neceſſity of a maſſacre in the priſons; we can thence only conclude that fanaticiſm is the ſame in every age. That monſter is the only one which the torch of reaſon cannot enlighten.

A ſhort time after this ſcene of horror Catherine of Medicis left the palace of the Tuileries becauſe it was in the pariſh of Saint Germain L'Auxerrois; of which ſtep this was the motive: Catherine was very ſuperſtitious, ſhe believed in predictions, and dabbled much in that kind of aſtrology which is ſuppoſed to lead to the diſcloſure of human events. During her life-time, all the conjurers and necromancers were encouraged and entertained by her. One of theſe predicted to her that ſhe would die near Saint Germain. Struck by this

pre-

prediction, ſhe immediately avoided every thing that bore that name; and it was from that time that ſhe inhabited l'Hotel Soiſſons, of which there now remains only the high tower from which ſhe uſed to conſult the ſtars. Chance, however, accompliſhed the prediction, and placed on the higheſt pinnacle of fame the reputation of him who had made it *. The confeſſor who attended her bedſide in her dying moments was named Laurent de Saint Germain: Thus, in ſpite of her precautions, ſhe died near Saint Germain.

* His name was Coſme Ruggieri, and he was a native of Florence. He was the moſt famous aſtrologer of thoſe days.

CHAP. II.

Reſidence of Louis XIV. at the Palace of the Tuileries.—Louis XV. inhabits it during his Minority.—Peter the Firſt viſits the Infant King there.—The Regent cauſes a Bed of Juſtice to be held there.—The Palace is left under the Care of a Governor.—Under what Police it was governed.—Adventures and Anecdotes which have paſſed in its Gardens.

THE palace of the Tuileries and that of the Louvre ſerved alternately as abodes to the kings of France, till Louis XIV. built that of Verſailles. This monarch, who had conquered all Europe united againſt him, wanted to conquer nature herſelf. Of all other ſituations in the environs of Paris, that of Verſailles was without diſpute the moſt wild and diſagreeable. Its dry and ſtony ſoil produced nothing in the vigour of perfection; nothing was to be found upon its face but unwholeſome marſhes, and trees ſlim and decrepid. The proud and centuary oak vegetated there, but its towering top never refreſhed itſelf in the clouds. If a few miſerable beings are excepted, whoſe huts ſtood at a long diſtance from each other,

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not a ſingle ſign of population was to be ſeen on this unfertile and wild tract of ground; and the traveller who happened to wander into this uncultivated ſpot, inſtead of thinking himſelf in the neighbourhood of the firſt city of France, muſt have thought that he was in a land ſeveral hundred leagues apart from the habitable globe.

This, however, was the ſpot fixed upon by Louis XIV. and which he preferred to the delights of Paris. As ſome men think that a king never does any thing from caprice, but that all his determinations have ſome politic end in view, much pains were taken to find out this prince's motive for this change of reſidence. "It is that he may not always be compelled to live in ſtate and form," ſaid one. "It is that he may be more at liberty with his miſtreſſes," remarked another, &c. At the preſent day we are acquainted with one of thoſe ſcribblers of paper, who calls himſelf an hiſtorian who moſt ſeriouſly aſſures us, that the real motive which determined this prince to build and inhabit Verſailles, was in order to withdraw himſelf from the ſcrutinizing obſervation of foreign ambaſſadors, and to render it more difficult to them to

gain a knowledge of his employments, and his projects.

If it was any one of these motives which impelled Louis XIV. to quit Paris, what occasion had he to build at a great expence the sumptuous palace of Versailles? Could not he have retired to Vincennes, to Saint Germain, to Marly, to Meudon, to Fontainbleau, &c. &c.? Certainly none of those views which the world have assigned to his conduct were very great causes of impatience to him since he waited all the years which it took him to build Versailles, to fulfil them. Louis XIV. in building Versailles appears to me nothing more than the proud monarch labouring to render himself immortal in more ways than one. Not content with that place in history which his warlike reign had marked out for him, he wanted the arts to assign him another; and to this end he built monuments, palaces, &c. With the exception of *Les Invalides*, every thing else which he erected, only gives the idea of an insatiable desire for being talked of after his death. What confirms me in this opinion is, that you must seek in vain to find any thing which he has done for the healthiness of Paris, for the accommodation of

its

its inhabitants, or for the comfort of the needy. Did he complete the Louvre, which ſo heavily complains at this day of the forgetfulneſs of its four laſt kings? He added the colonade, and left the building imperfect. For two centuries it had been in agitation to remove the ſick to a more convenient hoſpital; and ſtill he kept the Hotel-Dieu always ſhut up in the ſame quarter of the town. The filth which neceſſarily comes from the hoſpital even now infects the air which the Pariſians breath, and putrifies the water which they drink; but if he had only improved, he was undoubtedly afraid, that the founder alone ſhould be thought of, while in building he was ſure that he ſhould be talked of himſelf. In all ages the character of man has been the ſame; whilſt the ſimple individual ſeeks honours and riches, the prince hunts after glory and immortality; and while we ſee the prince laughing at the ambition of the ſubject, the latter ſneers at the pride of the prince.

From the time that Louis XIV. appointed Verſailles the abode of his ſucceſſors, the palace of the Tuileries had no other oſtenſible maſter than a governor, and no other inhabitants than a few artiſts and ſome individuals of the court,

to whom the king granted a reſidence there, either from motives of remuneration or benevolence. Louis XV., however, inhabited this palace during his minority, on his return from Vincennes, whither the phyſicians of Paris had ſent him for his health. The regent choſe this habitation for the ſake of his pleaſures; the capital affording him a greater variety than Verſailles. It is quite foreign to my ſubject to ſpeak of the orgies of the Palais Royale, and the bacchanalian revels of Luxembourg, at the head of which were the duke of Orleans, and the ducheſs de Berry his daughter. For information on this point the Memoires of Duclos may be conſulted.

It was alſo in the Tuileries, during the minority of Louis XV. that czar Peter viſited this young king. Arriving in the court yard of the palace, early in the morning on the eleventh of May, the royal child went out into the veſtibule to receive him as he deſcended from his carriage; Peter perceiving this, without troubling himſelf about the ceremony of the buſineſs, ſprang from his carriage, took up the king in his arms, and thus went up the ſteps. On arriving in the apart-

apartments, he ſet him on the ground, and held him by the hand.

Some time after this, the regent held in this palace, the famous bed of juſtice, which cruſhed the ridiculous pretenſions of the duke of Maine, and of all the princes who had been legitimated, and which humbled the encroaching pride of the parliament of Paris. In 1722, the court quitted Paris to eſtabliſh itſelf at Verſailles; which it did not leave till 1789. The cauſe of its leaving the palace of the Tuileries was the altercation about the choice of a confeſſor for the king. Phillip V., ſeated on his throne, in Spain, aſſerted that Louis XV. ought to be confeſſed by a Jeſuit; and he maintained through the vicious cardinal Dubois, that it was one of the articles of the laſt treaty of peace between France and Spain; which was entirely a falſe aſſertion *. In vain did Noailles, Villeroi, and other men of rank offer an oppoſition; the Jeſuit Linières was appointed to the office; and to cut ſhort all difficulties, the regent who only ſaw with the eyes of Dubois, removed the king and the court to Verſailles, and from thence had the child carried, crowned, to Saint-Cyr, to be confeſſed.

* See the Memoires of Duclos, tom. II. p. 191.

He came back thither no more, except to hold ſome beds of juſtice, merely for the ſake of form, and always entirely uſeleſs; or to paſs a couple of days in returning from his campaigns.

With the exception of certain apartments ſet aſide to receive the king on his journey to Paris, the whole palace was occupied promiſcuouſly by perſons of all ranks, from the ſtable-boy up to the governor. The latter had the ſuperintendance of the police, not only of the palace, but alſo of its boundaries, and of its gardens. Whatever happened in them, it was to him to whom reference was made. If any thieves, or women of the town were taken up in them, they were carried before him, and he paſſed judgment upon them. Voluminous regiſters were filled with the names and adventures of thoſe who were taken up. We have had the courageous patience to read with attention theſe inſipid folios; and if we have yawned at the wearying repetitions of theſts of pocket-handkerchiefs, and watches; the indecent allurements of females devoid of ſhame; and the nocturnal and abominable pleaſures of Pariſian libertines; we have been recompenſed by ſome new and

pleaſant

pleaſant adventures. One of them we ſhall relate. Three girls of the town had pitched upon the gardens of the Tuileries, in the year 1769, as the theatre of their ſeductive and dangerous arts. In order the better to ſucceed, they agreed that each ſhould offer a different character to the libertines of whom they ſought favor. Roſe, naturally of a ſimple diſpoſition, undertook the character of an ignorant girl juſt arrived from the country. A plain, but clean dreſs, a timid walk, her eyes baſhfully ſoft and modeſt, and a faultering voice, were the allurements that ſhe employed for ſeduction. If ſhe had ſhewn herſelf too frequently at the Tuileries, her tricks would ſoon have been diſcovered; accordingly ſhe came thither only on a Monday, a Wedneſday, and a Saturday, accompanied by an old woman whoſe countrified dreſs beſpoke her merely a ſervant. At theſe times after taking a few turns, they would ſit down on a bench, ſtaring about them with a moſt ſtupid curioſity, and drop their eyes the moment they had caught the glance of any one's face whom they wiſhed to attract. Add to this the happy age of nineteen, a complexion which the coſmetics of Dulac had not injured, and other

charms covered with ſufficient art to leave the obſerver a good opportunity to judge of their beauty. Eugenia, a picquante brunette, and dropping at leaſt a luſtre of her age, which ſhe called twenty, was exactly the reverſe of the blonde Roſe; ſhe ſuſtained the character of a coquette. Her dreſs elegant, her walk hurried, her head in conſtant motion, her eye full of witchery, her boſom expoſed, never a moment ſtationary in any place, running rather than walking, always talking, laughing at every thing; ſuch did the lively Eugenia exhibit herſelf in this celebrated garden on the ſame days that Roſe viſited it, but accompanied by an ugly and tawdrily dreſſed waiting woman.

Julia, the third of theſe females, about the age of the laſt, poſſeſſed one of thoſe perſons, which is uſually thought both graceful and handſome, without being either the one or the other. Many of theſe laughing faces pleaſe men better in general, and inſpire them much ſooner with paſſion, than would thoſe of a Venus or a Juno. From this ſketch no idea can be formed of what her dreſs was; principally, there was no regularity in it. She always followed the faſhions, and ſtill wore her cloaths in ſuch a manner as not to have the

appear-

appearance of adopting them. This negligent air was well ſuited to the character ſhe had choſen, wiſhing to paſs for a woman of learning; ſhe very well knew that a pretty young woman wants only a good memory to ſuſtain this character with credit, becauſe nobody ever attempts to enter into an argument with her. A ſingle word upon any art or ſcience, introduced with addreſs, makes her believed to be a woman of education. Before ſhe came out ſhe ſkimmed the newſpapers, the almanack of the muſes, and a book of anecdotes, and her memory always furniſhed her with ſome of theſe to introduce into her converſation at any apt opportunity. A plainly dreſſed, and ordinary ſervant, not at all calculated to betray the ſecrets of the trade, accompanied her; they appeared at the Tuileries on the ſame days as Eugenia and Roſe; and now for the reaſon.

As they lived in the ſame houſe, they had agreed, regularly to acknowledge each other, and when opportunity offered to ſound each other's praiſes. Roſe was to paſs for a young girl from Provence, whoſe mother was dead, and whom her father had brought with him to Paris, while ſeeking to procure himſelf ſome ſituation

for

for gaining his ſubſiſtence. The father had died about ſix months ago, and ſhe was waiting for the ſettling of ſome affairs, to return home. This was innocence and virtue perſonified. She had had many lovers whom ſhe had refuſed to liſten to, on account of an attachment in her native village; but about a month before ſhe had received intelligence of the infidelity of him on whom her affections had been placed, and ſhe now dreaded to return, as ſhe could not ſupport the ſight of her inconſtant and perjured lover: add to this that Roſe was ſaid to be the daughter of a man in the law, who had left very little to his family, but that ſhe had a very old and rich uncle who was to leave her a great fortune.

Eugenia paſſed for the wife of an officer who had ſailed to the Eaſt Indies, and of whom no tidings had been received for two years. Her's had been a marriage of unequal ages, her huſband being ſixty-two years old; and no children had ever bleſſed them. The moſt amiable of women had been ſacrificed to money; and whilſt awaiting the return of a huſband whom ſhe eſteemed, but could not love, ſhe ſubſiſted on a very ſlender patrimony which her mother had left to her at her death. But notwithſtanding her gaiety

which

which extended only to her dreſs and her words, ſhe was trembling at the idea of the diſtreſs to which ſhe ſhould in all probability in a very ſhort time be expoſed, and had made up her mind to go and drag on an exiſtence with a relation in the country whom ſhe deteſted. Julia, laſtly, was a young widow, without children, amiable, and of much knowledge, which ſhe was encreaſing every day by ſtudy. A moderate income, by means of the œconomy which ſhe uſed, ſerved to maintain her with comfort. She certainly wiſhed to be married again, but ſhe uſed no arts to obtain her wiſh.

As they lived in the ſame houſe they frequently ſaw each other, and always ſat together, in bad weather, ſometimes in the apartments of one, ſometimes in that of another. This acquaintance led them on to hire a ſmall houſe together in the country in which they might paſs the ſummer months. The truth was that for the laſt month, they had all three lodged in the ſame houſe, as by chance; and about fifty louis which they had ſcraped together, ſerved them to ſupport the characters which I have juſt been drawing, without even the porter having a ſuſpicion of the truth; as they did not admit a ſingle man.

Our

Our readers muſt perceive that theſe women could not be long without attracting notice. In the firſt place, they were women made to pleaſe even in an age when gallantry was little the rage; and in the ſecond place, this trio made their appearance towards the end of the reign of Louis XV. at a time when the monarch himſelf ſet the example not only of gallantry, but of the moſt unbluſhing licentiouſneſs; for Madame Dubary reigned, and ſet the faſhions.

The French always imitate their ſuperiors, like monkeys; and breaking on the wheel, amongſt other amuſements, was then in faſhion; and ſo much having been ſaid for faſhion, it will excite no ſurpriſe to learn which of our heroines had the glory of the firſt conqueſt. Roſe was the laſt to find a dupe. Some young pages made the attempt; but theſe did not at all ſuit her, ſhe wanted a monied man to pilfer; for I ought to have premiſed that our three góddeſſes had reſolved to take aim at the pocket. In ſhort they ought to be conſidered rather as common ſharpers than female libertines; for as they themſelves afterwards confeſſed, it was their project to collect together a good fortune, which they were to ſhare equally, and to retire each

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into a different province, where they would have endeavoured by a decent conduct, to have entrapped ſome man of reſpectability to marry them. And this project would certainly have been much more commendable, if it had not been founded upon a vicious plan, and conducted by criminal arts.

The farmer general, Augeard, ſaw Eugenia, and ſought an opportunity of becoming acquainted with her. In a converſation which he obtained with her, ſhe cunningly introduced the ſubject of her huſband, and her doubtful widowhood. Our Crœſus offered to procure her ſome tidings through the medium of the Eaſt India company; but he muſt have ſome written inſtructions leſt his treacherous memory ſhould fail him: he accordingly requeſted permiſſion to wait on her, in order to make ſome memorandums to the purpoſe of his enquiries. From fear of giving the neighbours an opportunity for talking of her, ſhe at firſt refuſed, and promiſed to meet him again in the Tuileries, and to bring with her the neceſſary documents. On the day appointed ſhe came, but alas! ſhe had loſt her memorandums out of her pocket. Augeard

again

again requeſted permiſſion to viſit her, and at length his requeſt was granted.

Every fineſſe which the art of woman could deviſe to ſeduce the ſenſes of man was employed by her for his reception. The thick-headed financier came to his appointment, and received inſtructions for making enquiry after an imaginary being, whom Eugenia repreſented to him as her huſband of whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe ſtood in great need.

Offers of ſervice had ſcarcely been made, and rejected, before her waiting woman brings her in a letter, which ſhe begs leave to read. She takes care to let her gentleman ſee that the papers are marked with the ſeal of the law; a convenient tear drops upon the papers. She complains of the heat, and wipes it away with her handkerchief, when ſhe is convinced it has been obſerved; her converſation after this becomes melancholy, and evidently beſpeaks diſtreſs of mind.

Our old dotard, for he was already violently in love, ſeizes this moment which he thinks favourable for obtaining a knowledge of her ſecret, which he at length with much difficulty,

and

and through many ſighs, worms out. She is called upon to diſcharge a debt which her huſband had contracted before his departure, and which ſhe had been fooliſh enough to become bound for; it had now been due ſix months; ſhe had obtained a ſhort grace, but that period was elapſed alſo; of two hundred louis ſhe ſtood in the moſt preſſing want; and Augeard goes home to ſend them to her.

The next day our financier returns. After a million thanks, Eugenia preſents him with a bond for the two hundred louis; which he in the moſt engaging manner poſſible tears to pieces. Emboldened by this loan, or rather by this gift, our good man ventures upon a declaration of his paſſion couched in the moſt delicate terms, which the lady receives as a joke. This is followed by the moſt ſerious proteſtations, which are rejected, but not without betraying ſome reaſon to hope that the lady's virtue will not for ever be found inflexible. This game laſts a week, during which time our old dotard becomes more and more in love; he is determined to triumph; it is his maxim that the pureſt virtue will ſink under the weight of gold, and that if any woman remains unſeduced, it muſt be, that

ſhe

ſhe has not been bid high enough for. Conſequently he reaſoned thus: Eugenia by accepting the money which I have given to her, has ſhown me her weak ſide; if I beſiege her with gold I muſt conquer. He put into his pocket a rich caſe of jewels; and ſent her, as from one unknown, a rouleau of an hundred double louis d'ors. If ſhe takes this money, argued he, without knowing who ſends it to her, ſhe is mine at once; in caſe of a repulſe this way, I muſt complete her defeat with the diamonds.

About two hours after the ſending of the gold he went to her houſe; imagining that it could be only he who had ſent it, ſhe began to pretend great diſpleaſure, and begged to return it; but ſhe did not return it for all that. Our financier made many apologies, and begged of her to keep it, ſaying that ſhe might find it of uſe to her during the abſence of her huſband. A few minutes after he took courage, to ſue for the reward of her love; and the only contradictory argument which he received to his ſuit was the poſſibility of her huſband ſoon returning. The old dotard, by making ſome calculations upon time, convinced her that that period muſt be very diſtant; drew the laſt argument from his pocket; and tri-

umphed. After the gentleman had gained his victory, and the lady had uttered many feigned regrets; ſhe pointed out to him the ſcandal that muſt attach to ſuch a connection, and the difficulty of keeping it ſecret; propoſing to the financier, in order that they might not be talked of, not to viſit her too frequently, but rather to come and ſee her at her houſe in the country; which was the one our three heroines had hired in common, and whither ſhe intended to go on ſuch days as they were abſent. As this houſe was quite retired, ſhe remarked, nobody could know any thing of the matter, eſpecially if the happy man would come in a hackney coach; this being agreed to, ſhe promiſed in her turn, to go ſometimes, provided the greateſt ſecrecy was obſerved, and take half a bed with Augeard.

Whilſt this intrigue is going forward, let us take a peep at Roſe and Julia.

A young man of family, a novice in the arts of the world, but very rich, had begun to follow the footſteps of Roſe. He knew nothing of the arts of gallantry, and his maiden heart, loved for the firſt time; thus it may be ſuppoſed that he opened his campaign of love with all the aukwardneſs of one who is neither a man nor a boy. Smo-

thered ſighs, and tender glances, conveyed to our falſe Diana, that he was dying for her. How was ſhe to proceed? How could ſhe enter into a converſation with him, without appearing to make the firſt advances? Our young Cymon was, however ſo ſhy, that there was no hope of their being brought together by any other means; for ſix days he had always come and ſat down by her, but ſtill he had not ſpoken; all to no purpoſe had ſhe dropped firſt her glove, then her fan; her gallant flew to pick them up, and gave them to her, but that was all.

One day when they were ſitting on a bench at ſome diſtance from the croud, Roſe pretended to be taken ill. The attentive Granval ſupported her in his arms, and gave her ſalts and perfumes to ſmell of. She recovered, and wiſhed to return home, but her faintneſs was ſo great that ſhe was obliged to take his arm, which ſhe pretended only to accept from gratitude. On reaching the iron rails, a coach was called, and they all three got into it; for her waiting woman was always with her. Giving her his hand to help her out of the carriage, and leading her up to her chamber followed of courſe; and at

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departing, Granval ſolicited, and obtained leave to call and enquire after her health.

As all new impreſſions of the heart are the ſame, we ſhall not give an account of what all the world underſtands. Letters red hot with love, and long unanſwered; at length replied to: declarations of paſſion returned by confeſſions of love made with much ſkill; in ſhort a real paſſion on one ſide, and an excellent ſhew of affection on the other, brought on treats, engagements, and a promiſe of marriage, ſtrengthened by a bond to forfeit 40,000 livres in caſe of failure, before the ſmalleſt favour was granted.

At the end of a few months Roſe pretended to have increaſed ſo much in bulk, as to require a private journey into the country; and Granval was obliged to borrow money upon the moſt extravagant terms of uſury in order to ſupport her expences.

Julia, after having rivetted the admiration of the loungers in the Tuileries by her wit, and rejected the homage of various admirers whom ſhe did not think ſufficiently rich, built up for herſelf a reputation of virtue, which one of our men of the world reſolved to blow down.

This man, was one Silly, a judge, who being accuſtomed to ſee unhappy criminals ſhrink before him, imagined their humility to be the effect of his merit, and had upon this idea contracted a moſt ridiculous pride. Married to a woman who had doubled for him his fortune, before very conſiderable, and from whom he was ſeparated after having had one child by her, he now ruined himſelf amongſt ſuch women as flattered his mania of believing that no one could reſiſt his merit. Julia by an artful reſiſtance led him on. In order to triumph over her, he made great ſacrifices before any reward was obtained, and a bond for 60,000 livres at length made him her conqueror.

Down to the preſent moment all the plans of our three ladies had ſucceeded; and had they been ſatisfied with fifty thouſand crowns which they had ſcraped together, their romance would never have been known; but it is with money as it is with power, having once dipped our hand into the ſtrong box, we want to empty it; and having once drunk of the cup of power, we know not how to take our lips from it.

Thus they purpoſed carrying on their plans. A letter was to be ſent to the mother of Granval,

to

to inform her that Roſe had been ſeduced by her ſon, and borne him a child which he had acknowledged, and that the young girl's guardian was going to proſecute the ſeducer, in order to oblige him to marry his ward. The letter contained the addreſs of this guardian, who was no other than one of thoſe honourable gentlemen who live by their wits, and who was to receive an hundred louis for playing his part.

The mother of Granval who was projecting an honourable and advantageous match for her ſon, went without delay to the pretended guardian, and after many days of ſolicitation, prevailed on him for the ſum of 30,000 livres to deſiſt from all proceedings againſt her ſon, and to give up all thoughts of avenging his ward. One of the conditions of this agreement was, that Roſe ſhould be ſent back into the country, where as her ſtory was not known, ſhe might appear again with a certainty of being received with credit to herſelf.

Julia not knowing how to make the moſt of her pedantic judge, was cracking her brain with various ſtratagems, when ſhe received a viſit from a man with whom ſhe was unacquainted. It was a perſon who had a law ſuit impending

which gave him but little hope of going in his favour, and the loſs of which would plunge him into abſolute poverty. He had found out that Julia was the miſtreſs of his judge, and he came to propoſe to her to ſpeak in his favour. After many difficulties ſtarted on her ſide, and many offers of gratitude on his, Julia promiſed to mention the affair to Silly, and appointed a time for the man to call upon her on the following day to receive an anſwer. When the time came, ſhe told him that his judge found his cauſe to be a very doubtful one indeed, but that ſhe thought ſhe knew a way to turn it in his favour. Silly, ſhe ſaid, wanted a thouſand louis, and that for that ſum ſhe would undertake to ſay the ſcale ſhould turn in his behalf. The man brought the money the next day, and two days after that loſt his cauſe. Julia who had kept the money without mentioning the affair, ordered her door to be ſhut in the face of the ruined man, and thence quarreled with her keeper.

Now for Eugenia. One morning ſhe ſhowed her financier a forged letter from her huſband, which contained the bills of lading of a ſhip freighted with ſugar, coffee, and indigo. The ſhip was to arrive in a month, and what could

ſhe

do with the merchandiſe? She underſtood nothing of trade, and was afraid of being duped. Laughing, ſhe propoſed to Augeard to buy the cargo. He agreed, and according to the price mentioned in the letter, the bargain was ſtruck and ſigned for, at 36,000 livres, which Augeard paid the next morning.

With 240,000 livres in their pockets, without reckoning the jewels which were worth twenty thouſand more, Eugenia and Julia, went to join Roſe who was hid in the ſuburbs, and to prepare for their departure. One was to betake herſelf to Nancy, a ſecond to Beſançon, and the third to Dijon. Within four days they were to ſet out. An upholſterer to whom they applied, bought their furniture for 10,000 livres, on condition of not removing it till the day of their departure. This ſum was to be divided, and was to pay the expence of their journies, and of ſettling themſelves. Each having received her ſhare of the money, in order to do away all ſuſpicion, Julia and Eugenia went and ſhewed themſelves as uſual in the Tuileries, and this over-precaution was the cauſe of their ruin.

The man whoſe law ſuit had been impending, maddening with rage and diſappointment went to

the judge to whom he made the moſt cutting reproaches. An explanation of the truth followed, and they agreed to go together to Julia; but they found her not at her lodgings, for this was the day that our three ladies had got together again; and the ſervant who had juſt been diſcharged, made a confeſſion of all ſhe knew from motives of revenge; for notwithſtanding they had hid from her as much of their plans as they were able, yet ſhe had heard enough to gueſs at the reſt. The two dupes put a louis d'or into the hand of the woman, in order to bind her to their ſide, and went down. At the foot of the ſtairs they met the financier to whom they told the whole ſtory. A violent alarm ſeized the good gentleman, and he ran to the marine office of intelligence to make enquiries about the huſband of Eugenia, when by chance he met there a planter from the very town where ſhe had ſaid he reſided, and from him he learnt that there was not a man of that name in the whole iſland; and now let our readers figure to themſelves the enviable ſituation of our financier on receiving this information.

On the following day Julia and Eugenia appeared in the gardens, but very far were they from

from having any idea of the cataſtrophe which was awaiting them. They were together, ſurrounded by admirers, when the unhappy man who had loſt his ſuit, appeared before them, and loaded Julia with invectives. Several men of galantry were growing very warm in her defence at the moment when an inſpector of the police came up, and gave orders to four fuſiliers to lay hold of Julia and Eugenia, and to carry them before the governor of the Tuileries, where the judge, and the financier were expecting their coming. In the courſe of the queſtions which the governor put to them, they contradicted each other, loſt their aſſurance, and ended in making a full confeſſion.

Roſe's tricks alſo were diſcovered, but ſhe made her eſcape, and thus ſhe effected it. Whilſt theſe two women were kept in cuſtody; perſons were ſent to fix the ſeals of juſtice in their lodgings. Roſe's waiting woman who was preſent, ran and told her miſtreſs, of whom ſhe was very fond, what was doing. Immediately Roſe, making ſure of her money, and jewels, ſet out poſt under another name, and was fortunate enough to arrive in England, where ſhe ſtill lives

lives very quietly and very wiſely with a jeweller whom ſhe has married.

The other two were taken to the houſe of correction; where Julia after ſome time died: Eugenia, by ſome means or other, we know not what they were, managed to get out, and wears away her old age in begging her bread.

We have extracted this little hiſtory, from the regiſter of which we ſpoke, and in which the truth may be read at this day in the civil court, where it was placed in 1792. It contains more than twelve pages folio, of interrogatories.

There it will be ſeen that Roſe was the daughter of a manufacturer in the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, who left her father to go upon the town; Julia was a baſtard; and Eugenia had been a ſervant at Nancy.

We will not tire our readers with reciting the hiſtories of girls who have been ſeduced, robbed, and abandoned; nor with the tales of young creatures, who have ſtolen out from home to come and proſtitute themſelves in theſe gardens, without either their fathers or mothers having a ſuſpicion of their conduct. I ſhall merely ſay that the laſt governor of the Tuileries, before the reſidence

of

of Louis XVI. at this palace, has more than once taken advantage of discoveries he has made, to procure for himself *le droit du Seigneur ;* and as every body knows that he was both a rake, and a libertine, I shall easily gain belief.

CHAP. III.

Louis the XVI. is forced away from his Palace at Verſailles with his Family.—They are conducted to the Tuileries.—State of this Palace on their Arrival there.—Diſtribution of the Chambers to each Individual.—Deſcription of thoſe aſſigned to the King and his Family.—Account of the Garden of the Dauphin.—The King makes a Change in his Habits.—His new Occupations.—Anecdotes.—Upon the 20th of June 1792, and upon the Confederation in 1790.—The King melts ſome Silver.—The Uſe he makes of his Ingots.—Journey to Varennes.—The Queen goes to the Opera.—A Centinel prevents the King leaving his Apartment.—Account, and Anecdotes of the King's Conſtitutional Guard.

THE torrent of people which poured in from the capital upon Verſailles could not have been ſtemmed by any means but by the king's promiſe of coming to live immediately in Paris with his family.

Hiſtory without doubt will relate how the cries for blood, were changed in an inſtant to "Let the king go to Paris," and who it was that raiſed that cry. Orleans is mentioned as being the perſon, and there is every reaſon to believe he was. The fact, however, is not yet poſitively aſcertained. The proceedings which the Chatelet commenced in this affair can at the beſt

beſt only ſerve as one of the proofs concerning this ſuit, which was a diſgrace to common ſenſe. The depoſitions made there were twiſted about into any form to ſerve the purpoſe of the time; the witneſſes capable of giving juſt information were ſome dying with fear, and ſome contradicting each other in their accounts. Party ſpirit was apparent throughout this voluminous and ridiculous ſuit. Thoſe who lived at the time are poſitively certain that *L'homme de crimes* (the man of crimes) organized the inſurrection of Verſailles, notwithſtanding the report made by Chabroud, who is a ſcandal upon juſtice.

But we ſee by ourſelves, that poſterity requires other proofs to judge from. Are there not every day difficulties ſtarting up amongſt our learned men upon different points in ancient hiſtory? and is not there every day ſome diſcovery making which obliges us to alter for the better many of its parts? If the Greek and Roman authors who have written of the revolutions of their own countries have ſometimes been miſtaken in their accounts of tranſactions which have paſſed under their eye, ſhall we have the ridiculous pride to pretend that we are inſtructed in ours paſt all

poſſibility

poſſibility of error, becauſe we have lived in its whirlwind? The nearer a man gets to the ſun, the leſs able is he to diſtinguiſh its rays: from this cauſe, that the too powerful light blinds him. The ſame is the caſe with him who lives at the time of a revolution, for either being in the midſt of the buſtle which it produces, he is ſtimulated by a ſenſe of danger; or, enſlaved by prejudice, he ſees every thing, and diſtinguiſhes nothing.

Either fear or party blind him; and when tranquillity returns to his breaſt he has only a confuſed remembrance of the paſt; if he wants to give an account of what has happened, he either wanders in his detail, or falſifies it, according to the ſide he took, and the ſentiments that animated him at the time. Thus a ſtranger is often much better acquainted with the truth than an actor in the ſcene.

An hiſtorian is ſo well convinced of this truth, that he often ſhuts himſelf up in his cloſet to pilfer events from the book of a foreigner to ſwell the pages of his hiſtory.

I ſhall not enter into any detail of thoſe dreadful days which were ſcandalized by all Europe; of which the reſult was the king's re-

ſidence at Paris, and of which the deſign was quite different, according to the public voice, and moreover what Orleans ſaid ſome time after.

Once when he was converſing with Ronſin upon the efforts which the queen was making to re-eſtabliſh the firmneſs of the throne, and of royalty, theſe words eſcaped him; "We ſhould have had nothing to fear from her, if the days at Verſailles had but ſucceeded."

One is afraid to venture an explanation of theſe few words; what is moſt remarkable in the event is, that women were choſen to execute it. At the head of this female army was a woman called *Reine Audu;* bold and fanatick. Arriving at Verſailles at the head of 800 ſoldiers of her own ſex, ſhe went and fronted the dragoons who were ſtationed before the national aſſembly; and having obliged them to take an oath of fidelity to the nation, ſhe placed near them 400 women with three ſmall pieces of cannon.

With the reſt of her troops ſhe preſented herſelf before the Flemiſh regiment, from whom ſhe obtained the ſame promiſe; ſhe then ſought D'Eſtaing, whom ſhe requeſted to procure herſelf

ſelf and a deputation of twelve women with her, an audience of the king. D'Eſtaing promiſed every thing, but performed nothing.

Learning that four of the king's carriages were going to ſet out, ſhe ſtopped them, and immediately endeavoured to force an entrance into the palace. The reſiſtance of the body guards produced a ſkirmiſh in which *Reine Audu* received two ſlight wounds, one on her breaſt, and one on her right hand.

A ſhort time after ſhe made her way to the king, and every body knows what ſhe and her companions demanded of him. On leaving the palace, triumphing in her ſucceſs, ſhe endeavoured to drive from their poſts the body guards, and received a ſlaſh of a ſabre on her left arm; after this ſhe paſſed the night upon the carriage of a gun. At the time the ſuit was preparing for the court, *Reine Audu* had a warrant iſſued againſt her by the Chatelet, upon which ſhe was taken up and thrown into priſon. She was detained in priſon till all ſuits were ſet aſide, in conſequence of the revolution.

Her brain became bewildered during her confinement, and ſhe died crazy in priſon in 1793. This is the only anecdote which I ſhall allow myſelf

myſelf to ſpeak of concerning the inſurrection at Verſailles; and I only mention this becauſe I have not ſeen it noticed any where elſe.

I ſhall not minutely deſcribe the haſty journey of the royal family; I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that after a march of eight hours, which could only be compared to ſavages dragging away from the field of battle ſuch priſoners as they had taken in the courſe of an engagement, they arrived at the palace of the Tuileries where they were to take up their reſidence: but nothing was prepared for their reception; beds, tables, chairs, and even the moſt neceſſary articles of life were wanting. Some flock beds were made up for them, and on thoſe they paſſed the wretched night.

This edifice, whoſe exterior is called the moſt beautiful in all Europe, offered no one accommodation within. The two wings only were habitable, the reſt conſiſted only of large rooms dreſſed out with ſome antique furniture, which was ſcarcely ever ſeen, never moved out of its place, and ſeemed deſtined to moulder where it ſtood. Thus it was highly neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be done to render it habitable.

On the morning of the next day Louis and Antoinette were desired to fix upon apartments for themselves, their family, and followers. His first answer was; "Let every one lodge where he can; for myself, I am satisfied where I am." But his tone of feeling changed, and he visited every part of the palace with his consort; they then together marked out the apartments of each individual, and ordered some changes and repairs to be made. In the mean time the furniture was bringing away from Versailles, by a convoy of waggons loaded with an immense quantity of moveables which had been collecting in that palace for the space of three reigns. The queen had her library brought after her; but the king sent for no part of his, except some books of devotion, an account of the revolutions in different states, and a particular history of the unhappy Charles the First, king of England. During the period of nearly three years which he resided at the Tuileries, whatever books he wanted he sent for to the national library *.

* After his death a volume of the Encyclopedia, which he had borrowed some months before, was sent back to this library.

Let

Let us ſay a few words about the diſtribution of the apartments.

The king made choice of three ſuites of apartments on the ground floor, next the garden, by the ſide of the gallery which is on the left hand at entering the garden. They were acceſſible both by the gallery, and by the veſtibule. In a little room in the middle ſtory, he placed his implements fot ſtudying geography; and in the firſt, which was in the angle of the gallery, he ſlept. On one ſide of this ſuite was the council chamber.

The queen had her apartments near thoſe of the king. Below, her dreſſing-room, her ſleeping room, and next to this her drawing-room. In a cloſet in the middle ſtory her library; above this library was the apartment of Madame, which was divided from that where the king ſlept by the Dauphin's chamber.

Out of the drawing-room, was the billiard-room. The reſt were all anti-chambers. This ſide of the building next the garden was occupied on the ground floor by the governante of the children of France, Meſſ. Chatelux, D'Hervilly, Roquelaure, &c.; the middle ſtory by the valets de chambres and other attendants of the

royal family. In the firſt were the guard-room, the ſtate-bed, and ſome apartments which were dedicated to the gallery from Verſailles.

Madame de Lamballe occupied the ground floor of the pavilion of Flora, and Madame Elizabeth the firſt room in it. Above lodged Meſdames Mackaw, Grammont, d'Oſſun, Meſſ. Lemonnier, Bonne-Foi, and an hundred and thirty-two other perſons belonging to the court.

On the other ſide of the centre pavilion, was, firſt, the chapel, next the place where the theatre had formerly ſtood. The king's aunts with their attendants occupied the pavilion Marſan. This ſide was not ſo well furniſhed as the other, on account of its having been found in a ſtate of too great diſorder.

The three courts, divided by ſmall buildings, ſerved to lodge the troops in the ſervice, the horſes, and a few perſons beſides. On the ſide of the *place de Carrouſel* the palace was defended by a wall in which were three gates which opened into each of the courts. The ſide next the garden was ſurrounded much in the ſame manner that it now is, if we except *Le pont Tournant*,

Tournant, which no longer exiſts, and the extenſion of the iron railings.

Within the palace and its walls, were, without reckoning the troops, 677 inhabitants of every age and ſex.

The firſt humiliation which Louis XVI. received on arriving in his capital, was offered him by an impertinent mob, which ſurrounded the palace of the Tuileries for ſeveral days, under the pretence of ſeeing their king. He had the prudence to keep himſelf on the farther ſide of the apartments without venturing to approach the windows; the queen did the ſame; till at length the curious mob inſenſibly creeping away, they were again permitted to breathe and to walk about without reſtraint.

The royal family obtained the liberty of walking by themſelves in the garden; and they uſed this licence for the amuſement of their children. At the bottom of the terrace by the ſide of the river was a garden, known from that time by the name of the Dauphin's garden, which ſerved for the play-ground of this child; as he was very fond of birds, ſome aviaries were built in the middle of it; and above the terrace were ſome ducks, which he amuſed himſelf with ſeeing

ſwim and dive in a pond. His ſiſter often partook of his amuſements; but ſhe preferred a young girl of her own age, whom the queen had given her for a companion.

After the day on which the throne was levelled, this young girl found herſelf without an aſylum; but ſhe was taken into the houſe of a linen-draper in la rue St. Denis, where ſhe is ſtill living.

On arriving at the Tuileries the king was obliged to change his habits, and to adopt new modes of ſpending his time. After having given the firſt moments of his day to acts of devotion, he went down into his apartments on the ground floor, viſited his thermometer, and wrote down the ſtate in which he found it.

He next received a viſit from his wife and children. This moment which ought to have been a balm to his heart was often diſturbed by the obſervations of the queen upon their ſituation, and often alſo by the gloomy reflections of the king himſelf upon the future. Sometimes a gleam of happineſs, ſometimes a ſhower of tears were the farewel of theſe viſits. Immediately after the king breakfaſted, and learned from thoſe who attended upon him, what was ſaid

abroad

abroad of the diſpoſition of the minds of the people. And he often made uſe of the information which he thus gained to contradict the miniſters even of the queen herſelf. I ſhall give an example of it.

In 1791, after the return of the king to Paris, ſome countrymen in the villages of La Franche-Comté who had caught the infection of giving their opinion upon the preſent ſtate of affairs, remarked that they no longer ſaw publiſhed any placards by order of the king. After having read, and reflected upon the declaration of the rights of men, they thought themſelves entirely free, and choſe themſelves a king, giving him three miniſters, one of whom they called Necker, for whom they had a great veneration.

Now this new king, with whom it was out of character to work, would have been at death's door for want of food, if he had not repreſented to his ſubjects, that he muſt have a revenue granted to him, ſufficiently large to make him amends for the employment he had laid aſide, and to maintain his children and his wife, who could not work now ſhe was a queen. This petition was decided to be very juſt, and his

loyal ſubjects went upon an expedition into the wood of a neighbouring diſtrict, which was quite unacquainted that it had in its vicinity ſo newly erected a king, and government.

The ſuperior officer of the diſtrict attempted to interrupt the ardour with which the trees under his juriſdiction were cutting down; and his majeſty had him taken up, tried, and condemned to be hanged, which ſentence was executed upon him without delay.

This execution made a great noiſe; and the national guard, with a detachment of the regulars, immediately went over from Beſançon, and, after meeting with a very vigorous reſiſtance, laid hold of the king, and his royal family, whom they threw into priſon in Beſançon.

Leſſart, one of Louis the Sixteenth's miniſters, in relating to him this anecdote, turned the tale in ſuch a manner as to give it the appearance of the villagers having revolted from attachment to the king, and thence drew a concluſion that the country people were all enemies to the revolution.

The king who was acquainted with the truth, anſwered ſharply; "I think a miniſter ought to be more correct in his intelligence, and not make

any

any report to the council, which is not ſtript of all fable;" and then inſtantly related what I have juſt written. The miniſter felt aſhamed, and threw the fault upon his clerk.

This tragi-comedy brings to my mind another adventure, which took place in la Haute-Lorraine, my own country. The lord of a certain village had made himſelf ſo extremely odious to his vaſſals by his oppreſſions, that they reſolved to take advantage of the revolution to be revenged upon him. Twenty-nine law-ſuits had he carried on in the ſpace of two years, and although he had loſt them all but one, they had notwithſtanding ruined the inhabitants of Girmont. Being obliged to emigrate, he came to his caſtle to arrange ſome affairs before his departure; his vaſſals called a meeting, and reſolved to make him refund to them all the money he had coſt them: every one drew up his account, after which they went to him, ſhewed him their bill, and demanded a diſcharge of it, declaring that they would keep him priſoner till it was paid. In vain did he endeavour to make them acknowledge the illegality of their demand; and for want of money, he was obliged to give them all his notes of hand.

When

When they left the caſtle, theſe ſame men, violently diſpleaſed with one of their own party who had attempted to ſay ſomething in defence of his lordſhip, reſolved alſo to puniſh him. After laying their heads together, they condemned him by the voice of their community, which they wrote out, and poſted, to become a nobleman for a month. During this time, every body called him le Marquis Colas: and the poor devil was ſo cut to the heart, that he durſt not ſtir out of his own houſe, and ſwore that he would never ſpeak in favour of a noble again as long as he lived.

Theſe two anecdotes, which are only extracted from a thouſand others which happened in the country during the time of the revolution, ſerve to ſhew the danger of innovations amongſt the low and ignorant claſs of people.

How many inſtances have we not ſeen of people from ignorance deſpiſing the moſt honourable titles; and thinking themſelves honoured by fulfilling employments which inſpire horror and contempt? Witneſs thoſe honeſt but ignorant farmers, whoſe ſtory has been dramatized, who, miſtaking the name of *les Suſpects* for an office, offered themſelves as candidates for the ſituation.

Theſe

Theſe dreadful errors would not have happened, if in each diſtrict had been placed a clever and ſenſible man, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould have been to have explained to its inhabitants the meaning of the new words and laws.

We call ourſelves one of the beſt informed nations; and yet, ye proud hiſtorians, only travel through the country, or viſit the ſuburbs of the towns, and you will ſee that the veil of ignorance hangs over the eyes of nineteen out of twenty amongſt the people.

After breakfaſt, the king filled up his time till the hour of maſs with public affairs, writing letters, and filing *. As hunting was prohibited him, and as exerciſe was neceſſary to his health, he took it by walking up and down his apartments till a ſalutary perſpiration obliged him to ſit down. After maſs he uſed to ſpend ſome time in talking with ſome of his faithful ſubjects, and then return into his apartments till dinner time. He eat quickly, and with appetite; he drank but little, notwithſtanding he has been ſuppoſed to have drank to exceſs; moſt commonly he did not empty one bottle, which he mixed with a good deal of water. With his

* Louis XVI. had a taſte for making padlocks. *Tranſlator's note.*

deſſert

deſſert he took half a glaſs of liqueur, and ſo ended his meal.

His afternoon was paſſed in reading, and playing with his children, particularly the Dauphin. In an evening he went into the drawing-room, looked at thoſe who were playing, viſited the billiard-room, and played a few games, ſometimes with any indifferent perſon, but more frequently with the queen. He was a bad player, and very irritable when he loſt. He has broken more than one cue in his time. And this was the king's common courſe of life whilſt he reſided at the Tuileries. The events which were conſtantly taking place at that time, frequently diverted him from his regular occupations; but he returned to them again as ſoon as he became compoſed.

If the proceedings of the national aſſembly often gave him pain, he ſometimes heard their laws with pleaſure; one of which latter nature was that which divided France into eighty-three departments. I know not, whether this diviſion, (which was one of the crimes that Coligny was reproached with two centuries before,) really pleaſed him in itſelf, or only ſuited his taſte for geography; however in a very ſhort time, he

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drew out a map of the new ſyſtem, in which he noted all the parts which were taken from one province, and added to another under the new diſtribution. This map, which I have ſeen, was ſo extremely correct, that you might at the ſame time learn from it the old and new geography of France. Any one who pleaſes may convince himſelf of the truth of what I have been advancing; for this laborious work was in the courſe of time inſerted in an atlas, with a large and rare collection of maps which were made by the king himſelf.

The title of my book ſeems to exact from me the taſk of relating every thing which happened in the palace of the Tuileries, during the whole of the time that the king and his family lived in it. I am ſenſible of this; but then I know that I ſhould only be recounting events which have been publiſhed in an hundred other books, and in as many different ſhapes, and this is not what I intend. What I am aiming at is, to relate ſuch of the facts as have paſſed in this palace, that are either not at all, or very little known.

For this reaſon I ſhall ſpeak neither of what the revolutioniſts call the day of daggers; nor

of the ſhameful 20th of June; nor of that day on which the throne fell, and the monarch fled.

For twelve years paſt every body has been writing about the revolution; and not one of them tells abſolutely lies, nor yet the truth: he who approaches the neareſt to the truth, and who has collected together the moſt events, either boldly ventured, or appearing moſt probable, has the moſt voices in his favour. It really ſeems as if the more we read of thoſe times the leſs we know of them; and the reaſon is a plain one; thoſe authors who did not know all the ſecret ſprings, and yet wiſh to appear acquainted with them, accounted for events according to their own opinion; and as opinions differ as much as the colours of the rainbow, ſo there muſt neceſſarily have ſprung up a variety of details even amongſt writers of the ſame way of thinking.

I ſhall cite as an example the affair of the 20th of June. The Jacobins have ſaid, ſome, that it reſulted from the combination of the whole court, others that the queen alone was the author of it. The Orleaniſts were equaliy divided, one party accuſed the foreign powers of having provoked it, another the miniſters; while

while the royaliſt party accuſed the Jacobins and Orleaniſts. As to myſelf, who am not in the ſecret, I ſhall refer myſelf to the man who was moſt concerned in the deſtruction of the royal family, I mean Orleans, and I ſhall ſay with him; I cannot fathom the myſtery, it is to me a chaos. What he ſaid of it to his friend Biron in one of his letters to him, is this: "The diſturbance made by the people on the twentieth of June, has cauſed me a great deal of uneaſineſs, particularly from my not having known any thing of it till a few hours before it took place. I have endeavoured in vain to diſcover the authors of it; I am certain that it is not the work of the Jacobins, nor of the Girondins. I ſhould be tempted to believe that it was a deſign of our great lady's (the queen); if I could but find out what could be her aim; but here I loſe myſelf, and can only ſuppoſe that it muſt have been the miniſters who planned it. It is the firſt time that I have been ill uſed; I hope however to know in a ſhort time from whence the blow came *."

* Secret correſpondence of people of rank, towards the end of the eighteenth century, p. 215.

One

One of the moſt remarkable epochs of the reſidence of Louis XVI. at the Tuileries is, without doubt, the confederation of Frenchmen on the fourteenth of July 1790. Had he been well adviſed, he might eaſily have profited by this opportunity for getting into his own hands again all thoſe prerogatives which the national aſſembly had ſtripped him of, one at a time, whilſt they were paying him the moſt fulſome compliments. Let us reflect a moment upon this epoch. The ſentiments of the different departments were not yet corrupted; the French ſtill loved their king. This veneration animated in particular the federates *(les Fedérés)*, aſſembled from all parts of France with ſcarcely a ſingle exception. I was of the number, and I can aſſure my readers that the inſinuations to which their attention was endeavoured to be gained, had entirely a contrary effect upon them to that intended to be produced in their minds by his calumniators. Why did not the king, who ought to have been pre-informed of their ſentiments, throw himſelf into the midſt of the federates? Had he given a mild explanation of what he had been made to ſuffer, had he ſpoken a few words upon his love for his people, had he propoſed an oath, and

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procured it to be ſworn to at that propitious moment, had he taken the command, and put them into action at that hour of enthuſiaſm; this conduct would have enabled him both to diſſolve, and recreate the ſtates, to regain Verſailles, to ſeat himſelf again upon his throne, and to defend it by a guard choſen from the federates. But he was ſatisfied with having them file off before him, with taking his oath where he could not be ſeen, inſtead of ſhewing himſelf in the middle of them, and reviewing them when half of them were already gone home: and inſtead of ſhewing himſelf at any of the fêtes which were given, he quietly ſuffered La Fayette to run away with the hearts of the citizen-ſoldiers, which they had brought with them as a gift to their monarch, and which at departing they left to this general.

The evening before the confederation of Frenchmen, the federates were ordered to aſſemble in the afternoon in the *Champs-Elyſées* to paſs in review before the king. A very heavy rain cauſed the order to be changed, and they were now to paſs in defile under the veſtibule of the Tuileries, before the king, his queen, and family. The department to which I belonged, inſtead of the coat of dark blue, now wore a uni-

form of ſky blue, with red lapells and cuffs, and white lining and buttons, which gave us a novel appearance that was remarked by the queen. I was file-leader of the firſt diviſion of men; and whether it was in order to have a better opportunity of looking at us, or that the paſſage which was very narrow was blocked up with lookers-on I know not, but we were ſtopped for about two minutes exactly oppoſite to the king. The queen leaned forwards, and pulling me by the flap of my coat ſaid, "Pray, Sir, of what province are you?" "Of that where your anceſtors reigned," was my anſwer, and I lowered my ſword as I ſpoke. "What are you"—ſhe was beginning—"Your faithful Lorrains."—I interrupted her by ſaying; and I ſpoke the truth. She thanked me by an inclination of her head, and a look, which I ſee ſtill; ſo deeply did it penetrate me at the moment; leaning towards the king ſhe ſaid to him, "Theſe are your faithful Lorrains." The king bowed his head to us, and as we continued to file off, I ſaw no more. But that was enough; thoſe few words, that look, had produced ſuch an effect upon us all, that we ſhould at that moment have flown to the exe-

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cution of any command which thoſe two unfortunates had given us.

I do not relate this fact becauſe it happened to myſelf; but merely to ſhew how eaſily the king might juſt then have biaſed the minds of about 60,000 men at that time aſſembled in Paris, and who were beholding their king for the firſt time.

Had Louis XVI.'s character been the ſame as that of Antoinette, I have no doubt but that at this very day he would ſtill have been king of France. She never let ſlip a ſingle opportunity of begetting and preſerving the love of her ſubjects. In the Temple and the Conciergerie, ſhe was conſtantly winning over to her ſide her ferocious keepers, and converting into faithful ſervants her moſt mortal enemies. Turgan, Michonis, and Manuel, are the vouchers for what I advance. Did not Herbert himſelf cry with rage, to think that ſhe in ſpite of him had ſoftened his heart? For myſelf who have never been a frantic democrat, nor a blind royaliſt, I never had but two opportunities of ſpeaking to the queen; and from the ſenſations which I then experienced, I have no heſitation in ſaying, that if I had more frequently been thrown

into the way of ſpeaking to her, I ſhould have become one of her moſt furious partizans. Give me leave to relate the ſecond circumſtance; its date is the ſame as the foregoing one.

After the federation in 1790, the federates were allowed the honour of being upon ſervice at court. Curious to have a near view of the royal family, I went; and the twenty-fifth of July was the day that I mounted guard at the palace. I was immediately put upon duty at the inner door which was paſſed through in going to the king or queen. The duty of a centinel, beſides certain ceremonies and compliments which I was obliged to pay, did not permit any body to leave the palace with a bundle. When the miniſters came out of the king's apartment with their porte-folios, like an ignorant country fellow I would not let them paſs till they had made themſelves known to me. My uniform, as I have before ſaid, was different to the reſt, which cauſed me to be ſo much remarked, that many people aſked me if I was a German; for the joke's ſake, I anſwered them in that language, and this puzzled them, and made me appear a ſuſpicious kind of perſon to ſome of the weak-headed ones. I had been

been above an hour upon duty without ſeeing any one of the royal family, when the queen was announced. Proud of having already been noticed by her, and in hopes of being ſo again, I placed myſelf in ſuch a manner as to be ſeen by her; ſhe appeared without any attendants, with the Dauphin in her hand. I preſented my arms with all the grace of which I was maſter, and grounded my muſket with all the noiſe I could. She turned her eye upon me, and honoured me with an inclination of her head, and an enchanting ſmile. Her beautiful boy looked only ſtraight before him as he walked along without ſeeing me; his mother ſtopped him and ſaid; "Don't be ſo impolite, Sir, make a bow;" then addreſſing herſelf to me, ſhe added, "Excuſe him, he is but a child;" and walked on.

In the evening, or, to ſpeak with greater exactneſs, the night, for it was ten o'clock, I was put upon a ſecond, and leſs agreeable poſt; I was placed in a long and narrow corridor, which ſeparates the ſide building on the ground floor, between a little door which was oppoſite to the bed-chamber of the queen and a private ſtair-caſe which lead to the apartments of Madame.

A faint light which proceeded from two ſmoaky

lanthorns ſerved to ſhew when any body was coming, without giving ſufficient light to diſtinguiſh their perſons by. I was particulary ordered not to let any body in by theſe two entrances; I was alſo commanded not to blow my noſe or to ſneeze, if I could poſſibly help it, for fear of diſturbing the queen's repoſe, as her bed was on the other ſide of the wall by which I was poſted. That I might not make a noiſe by walking up and down, I was allowed a chair to ſit in. This poſt which would have been conſidered a very diſagreeable one by almoſt every body elſe, I looked upon as quite a feather in my cap; I wiſhed that they might come while I was there to attack the queen, and ſolely from this motive, that the courage with which I had determined to defend her, might make me appear a hero in her eyes. I was ſo occupied with my own ideas, that at midnight when they came to relieve guard, inſtead of the uſual, "qui vive," I placed myſelf before the door, and called out, "Woe be to him that firſt approaches, I'll lay him dead at my feet;" and I actually took aim at my comrades. One word from the corporal, who ſtopped ſtort, explained to me my miſtake; and I pleaded as my excuſe the darkneſs of the

place

place which had prevented me from recognizing them. When we arrived at the guard-room, my cowardice, as they were pleaſed to call it, ſerved for a good laugh.

The next day the queen gave notice that ſhe was going to walk with her children in the garden of the Dauphin, which was ſituate at the bottom of that of the Tuileries. It was cuſtomary that ſhe ſhould have ſome guards to accompany her. I expreſſed a deſire to be of the number, and they appointed me. We waited for the queen at the entrance of the veſtibule, and followed her. Madame Lamballe gave her arm to the queen, and the queen held the Dauphin by the hand. When they got into the garden, the little boy, began to run away from his mother, calling out; "Mamma, I am going to ſee my ducks." His ſiſter followed him. During their walk the queen was in converſation with Madame Lamballe. I ſtopped to look at ſome plants, of which my comrades aſked me the name. The queen over-heard us and ſaid to me; "It appears to me, Sir, that you are fond of the country." "Very much ſo." "Perhaps you live there." "Not at preſent; I live in a little town where every houſe has a garden of its

own." "Is it Luneville?" "No, Madame, I live nine leagues diſtant from it; but my mother-in law was born there." "The army does not ſeem to be your profeſſion." "No, Madame, I am a lawyer." "Are you acquainted with Paris?" "This is the firſt time of my viſiting it." "You will then certainly ſoon leave it?" "I think of ſtaying two or three months in order to make myſelf acquainted with it." "Do you like it?" "Hitherto not, its buſtle diſtracts me." "A man of a quiet diſpoſition can ſeldom like it; he muſt only viſit it from curioſity; are they very quiet at Lorraine?" "They are, Madame." The Dauphin now came back to his mother, and they went to reſt themſelves in one of the little buildings at the bottom of the garden; in about half an hour they appeared again. The Dauphin looked at us, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, we are going away." We accompanied them to the entrance of the palace; the queen and her ſuite then bowed to us, and went in.

At the beginning of the year 1791, the king who amuſed himſelf with every thing in its turn, undertook, with his confidant Durey, to melt three old cheſts of ſilver gilt, which had ſerved

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to lock up the ſeals of the ſtate, and which were become uſeleſs, having been replaced by others. Durey bought a furnace, and an ingot mould; but he bought them with ſo little ſecrecy that a report was immediately ſpread that the king was melting his plate in order to ſend it in ingots to his brother's.

The king ſhut himſelf up with Durey in a little cloſet which received its light only from a faſhed door, which looked upon a back ſtair-caſe. There, in danger of being ſmothered with heat, and ſuffocated with the ſmoke of the charcoal, they blew away with all their might *. Pleaſed with his employment, the king paſſed a long time in examining his ingots; and then he wiſhed to ſeparate the ſilver from the gold; but the want of proper tools ſoon made him tire of the taſk, and he commiſſioned Durey, to carry them to the mint, and receive their value. The buſineſs of carrying away the gold and ſilver took ſome days, during which the king departed for Varennes.

Two days after his return, he aſked Durey if he had been paid for the ingots; and Durey re-

* Two days proved ſcarcely ſufficient for the melting, which operation was at length accompliſhed.

mitted

mitted to him four thouſand and ſome odd livres, which ſerved him to pay his ſervants who had remained in the Tuileries; and to whom he expreſſed thanks for their conduct during his abſence.

Theſe particulars, which I learnt from Durey, muſt entirely exculpate the king from the accuſation of his having ſecretly melted his plate. This anecdote leads me to make ſome reflections upon the cuſtom of our kings ſending their plate to the mint in times of public diſtreſs. The people, whoſe way it is never to reflect, have always witneſſed this royal privation with gratitude, and thought themſelves much relieved by it. But for my part I ſee only on the contrary a freſh expence incurred by it, as the plate was always replaced by a new ſet, the making of which had to be paid for. A king who happens to ſend his plate only three times during his reign to the mint, muſt draw at leaſt two hundred thouſand francs from the coffers of the ſtate to pay ſimply for the making. It is true, that almoſt always inſtead of its being melted, it is returned home with as much ſecrecy as there was notoriety uſed in its ſending.

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This anecdote leads me to ſay a few words about the journey to Varennes *. It is very well known that for a long time the friends of the king, and particularly the queen, had been endeavouring to perſuade him to leave Paris. "You cannot," ſhe was conſtantly repeating to him, "regain your kingdom without quitting it." In 1790, Breteuil had given him a plan of flight, telling him that the emperor would not act till he had left Paris. Bouillé on his part wanted to induce the king to retire to a town upon the frontiers. Preſſed on all ſides, he at length conſented; but he put off as long as lay in his power the moment of his departure. Doubts and fears natural to an irreſolute mind like his, delayed the executionof this project for a whole year. The queen at laſt obtained from him his deciſive conſent †.

* Nobody has told us how the elder brother of the king, Monſieur, and his wife, left Paris. It is well known, that they and the royal family quitted the capital on the ſame day. In order to avoid all ſuſpicion, Monſieur and his lady went each by a different way to the houſe of one of their ſervants, named Corbillieres, who lived in *la place des Quatre Nations*, No. 9; and at this houſe they got into their carriage. Fearing that Luxembourg would be pillaged, Monſieur had hid behind a wainſcot of that palace, ſeveral boxes full of articles of value, which were diſcovered, and confiſcated.

† She had not informed the king of her plan, knowing that he could fruſtrate it.

All

All ſhe was telling him, and cauſing to be repeated to him by his confidential friends, was, that it was not only requiſite for him to gain a fortified town upon the frontiers, but that he ought to fix upon one in the neighbourhood of the Empire, and of Pruſſia likewiſe. Beſançon, Valenciennes, and Metz were propoſed; but the king preferred Montmédy. The project of the queen was to aſſemble at Luxemburg, which is only twelve leagues diſtant from Montmédy, the principal members of the parliaments of France, to conduct the king thither ſurrounded by the grandees of the kingdom, and hold there a bed of juſtice of which the end may be eaſily conceived. The king, who had not been made acquainted with this deſign, only took pains to point out that his ſituation and that of his kingdom obliged him to quit the capital, where he could not enjoy his liberty. He drew out in private a proteſtation againſt many of the decrees which he had ſanctioned before, put it ſealed into the hands of one of his miniſters, and by ſtealth quitted Paris.

It need ſcarcely be repeated that there were many cauſes which occaſioned the ſtopping of the royal family: the negligence of not having

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ſent couriers before them; the delay incurred by ſomething breaking about the carriage; the miſtake of a detachment which quitted its poſt without orders; and laſtly the ſuſpicions which were raiſed by the troops of Bouillé, being put into motion. But there is ſtill a more immediate cauſe aſſigned by the royal family themſelves. They have always maintained, and their partiſans aſſert to this day, that La Fayette knew of their departure, and would not have ſuffered it to have taken place at all, only that he might have the merit of ſtopping the king. The cloud which hangs over this aſſertion is darkened ſtill more by the place where the arreſt was made. That they ſhould have waited to execute their deſign, till the royal family were arrived in a little town at the extremity of the frontiers, appears ſo great an imprudence, that it ought to weaken the charge againſt La Fayette. But then, after this I read a paper, as well as many other perſons, which I muſt ſay does not leave me entirely free from doubt *. This paper, which

* Thoſe who read it are ſtill living, and can vouch for the truth of what I ſay. Amongſt theſe I ſhall name the deputies Breard and Laloy, the exiſting members of the committees of general ſafety, and public ſurety, as well as all thoſe who compoſed the commiſſion of the furniture.

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is written by the hand of Danton, ſummarily ſays, that after a conference between himſelf, Bailly, La Fayette and the members of the conſtituted authorities, it was reſolved not to oppoſe the departure of the king; as nearly as I can remember, this paper was dated about the end of April 1791, which may make it a doubt whether it related to the journey undertaken two months after. But as it was ſuſpected before this time that the king was meditating a flight, it leaves a certainty that theſe great people had more than a ſuſpicion of it. I muſt leave hiſtorians to reaſon on this event.

During the whole of the time that the king reſided at the Tuileries, although ſo near the theatres, he had the prudence to deny himſelf this amuſement, and never appeared at any one of them. The queen who was very fond of theatricals ſufferred much more than he did from the privation; ſhe ſeized the moment at which the new conſtitution was accepted, to ſhew herſelf at the opera. The king who always trembled at the idea of being even the indirect cauſe of any murmurs amongſt the people, uſed many arguments to diſſuade her from this ſtep, on account of the diſagreeable conſequences which might reſult from

from it; but ſhe made ſo great a point of going, that he gave her his permiſſion, and ſhe appeared at the opera, *for the laſt time*, on the twenty-eighth December 1791.

She was received with loud plaudits, laviſhed on her, by the friends of the throne, who had been engaged to attend, and who filled three-fourths of the theatre. This reception ſtrengthened her hopes, and tranquillized the king. The queen now intended to ſhew herſelf there frequently; but the daily newſpapers, which were called the patriotic papers, having ſcandalouſly falſified their account of her reception, changed entirely the tone of the king's mind, and he poſitively forbad her viſiting the theatre *.

* At the revolution, the managers of the theatres were under the neceſſity of changing their catalogue. The pieces which were obliged to be cut out were ſo numerous that the amateurs abandoned the theatres. In a ſhort time they were beſieged by ſuch a variety of local novelties, that the actors had ſcarcely time allowed them to learn their parts. I reckon of thoſe which were played in the theatres in Paris, from the 14th of July 1789, to the firſt of January 1800, 637 of all kinds collectively taken. In the number we find amongſt them theſe full pieces, *Lereveil d'Epimenide*, by *Flins; Marius a Minthurne*, by *Arnauld; Jean Hennuyer*, by *Mercier; L'ami des Lois*, by *Laya; Charles IX.*, *Henry VIII.*, *Jean Calas*, *Caïus Gracchus*, *Fenelon*, by *Chenier; Pamela*, by *François de Neuf-Chateau; Epicuris* and *Neron*, by *Legouvé*; *Manlius Torquatus*, by *Lavallée*.

Theſe ſcandals in the newſpapers produced on the following day an inſult, which they durſt not attempt to puniſh. According to theſe vapours of the public opinion, the tranſactions at the opera had in view a plan formed by the royaliſts to raiſe an inſurrection, during which the king was to leave Paris. Struck by this ridiculous lie, a frantic centinel who was placed upon guard at the king's apartment, had the inſolence to prevent his leaving his room, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, when he was going to the queen. The officer of the guard was obliged to be ſent for, and he only ordered this audacious centinel to be relieved. The next day the newſpapers extolled this action, which was never puniſhed. The guard which was given to the king in 1792, and which was ſuppreſſed before it was entirely formed, engaged the attention of the court very particularly *. It was raiſed with the moſt ſcrupulous care as to thoſe who were allowed to compoſe it, and we ſhall give ſome details concerning it which are hitherto unknown. Briſſac and D'Hervilly who

* It was raiſed on the ſixteenth of February 1792, and diſbanded again on the thirtieth of the May following. Briſſac its commander was ſent to the high national court.

were

were appointed its commanders, were perfectly of accord to raiſe it ſolely of ſincere friends to the king and crown. The pains which the national aſſembly were taking to mix the common national guards with the regulars, gave them no uneaſineſs.

Scarcely was it known that a decree had been paſſed for its formation, before requeſts poured in from all quarters of France to the palace, for the liberty of being of the choſen number. Every pretender to the office reſted upon ſome ſervices which he had rendered to the court or the king, upon his loyal ſentiments, and all of them called upon ſome friends of the court to witneſs for their truth. I ſhall give ſome chance examples of what I have been advancing.

Gandolphe, captain of the Royal Liegeois regiment, wrote to Briſſac that he had ſerved in the campaign at Nancy under Bouillé, that he wiſhed to be near the king to defend his perſon with all really good Frenchmen, and mentioned his acquaintance with the miniſter Montmorin.

J. B. Tixier wrote alſo to Briſſac, ſaying that he was a faithful ſubject, animated by the only true principles, and added to his requeſt, certi-

ficates from ſeveral gentlemen of his province who atteſted that he lived like a gentleman. Turgis ſaid that he ſhould prefer to be one of its common men, rather than an officer in the eighty-third regiment; that his attachment to his king was the ſole motive of his choice. I find it was this ſame Turgis who wrote ſome time before the tenth of Auguſt to Durey, petitioning to have an admiſſion ticket into the Tuileries, that he might defend the king againſt the banditti, as he expreſſed himſelf.

Leon Béarner wrote to Daudoin, lieutenant-colonel of the horſe guards, offering for his ſervice Villevigne, worthy of entering into the troop ſince he had abjured democracy.

Vignolet, captain of the body guard, recommended Vagnet, and truſted that his protége would be thought worthy to enter, as having ſerved the court in 1789, in the character of a ſpy.

Remy, ſecond lieutenant in the horſe-guards, was taken in becauſe he had ſerved under Bouillé, in defence of the king on his journey to Varennes.

Several offered themſelves without any pretentions but that of ſolemn proteſtations of fidelity.

lity. Several uninformed countrymen talked of patriotiſm in their requeſts, and ſo defeated the end for which they were petitioning.

In order to know their men, in the margin by the ſide of each petition was written a word which ſeemed to convey no meaning, and to which they gave a quite different ſenſe from what it really bore. For example, the word *bon*, denoted a friend to the throne; a *verifier*, ſignified that ſuch a one was not to be received. The word *refuſé* was not found at all in the margin, in order that there might be no cauſe for murmuring I ſhall explain in a moment how I diſcovered this enigma, which at preſent probably appears to my readers only a chance aſſertion, and merely my own idea.

Such individuals as the queen, Madame Elizabeth, and other members of the court intereſted themſelves about, were immediately received. Next came thoſe ſent from the regular regiments, for whom their officers anſwered; and then they ſelected from the petitioners ſuch as bore the higheſt characters. And in order not to diſcover the plan upon which they were acting, they admitted a certain number of men preſented by the patriotic deputies, as for example one was re-

ceived, who was preſented by Jean Debrie. The departments had each the right of ſending three whom they were obliged to receive; and of whom they dreaded what might be their ſentiments. They were very well ſati fied about the ſentiments of ſome of the adminiſtrations of the departments, but the majority were patriotic, and they ſtood in awe of the revolutionary gangrene. How was it to be fought againſt? thus only; by diſtributing the patriots in the different barracks, in ſuch a manner that they ſhould always have a minority; by fatiguing them with ſervice; by giving them cauſe for being diſguſted with their employment, that they might be compelled to throw it up; by making them conſtantly be upon centry, and by puniſhing ſeverely in them the ſlighteſt faults; and ſuch were the methods made uſe of. Each captain was ordered to give in a weekly account of his private opinion of the conduct of his men, by which each individual would be well known.

The following is an extract from ſome of their reports.

The captain Villeneuve wrote; "State of the men with whom we are diſcontented. Valette, a clubiſte;

a clubiſte * ; Cabour, came from the troops of the centre, and is of the ſame ſentiments."

In that of the captain La Chappelle, there was Daziniere, a man of dangerous principles; Marchant, the ſame, with ſkill to propagate them.

Laſtly, the captain Coriales ſaid, Pitois was preſent at the arrival of Chateaux-Vieux.

This was doubtleſs enough to prove the ſpirit, which ſwayed the commanders of the king's guard, as well as that which was required from every private; and their end would certainly have been anſwered, had it not been for ſome ill judging men who were of its number. Thoſe, in their barracks, turned into ridicule the patriots, and the conſtitution, and teized thoſe who were its friends. One of them named Paris, well known for having murdered the deputy Pelletier Saint Fargeau, and of whom his captain ſaid that he was an excellent ſoldier, but that he durſt not promote him on account of his hot-

* A member of a *club*; from the word *club*, borrowed from the Engliſh language, and adopted before the revolution the French have formed the ſubſtantive *clubiſte*, and inſtead of *club* now more commonly make uſe of *ſociété populaire* to mean a popular aſſembly, calling thoſe *Clubiſtes* who frequent ſuch meetings. Lexi. Neo. Gal. *Tranſlator's note.*

headedneſs, made it his buſineſs to find out the patriotic ſoldiers to inſult them.

The reader without doubt will want to know how I came by theſe facts. After the death of the king, the deputy Merlin de Douay, knowing that ſome papers had been found relating to the king's guard, demanded that a circumſtantial account of them ſhould be made out, and that all the writings ſhould be ſigned by the deputies. The clerk who was charged with this buſineſs, ſhowed me the minutes of his work, and pointed out to my notice a liſt of the names of the guards, with the quality of each margined on the ſide; he who was marked *bon*, was called in this regiſter a royaliſt; while they had written *renvoyer* oppoſite to the names of ſuch as were marked with the words *a verifier*.

We have ſaid that there never appeared the leaſt ſign of the king having interfered about his guard: we cannot ſay exactly the ſame of the queen; there is every reaſon to believe that Briſſac and D'Hervilly acted in concert with her. Their too great precipitation was the failure of their deſign, and the guard was ſuppreſſed.

CHAP. IV.

VISIT TO THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.

FIRST DAY.

Lord Bedfort pays a Viſit to the Tuileries.—Similarity between the Misfortunes of Charles the Firſt, and thoſe of Louis XVI. —State of the Interior of the Pavilion of Medicis.—Account of the Robberies committed upon it.—Fate of the Sceptre, and the Royal Crown.—The Republic proclaimed from the Furniture of the Crown.—Search after ſome Papers in a ſpot mentioned by Marat.—The Platonic Amours of Eugene and Adelaide.—Facts hitherto unknown abou the Departure of the King's Aunts.*

In the month of December 1792, whilſt the commiſſaries appointed by the miniſter of the interior, Rolland, were employed in reſtoring a certain order in the palace of the Tuileries, and in making an inventory of the furniture, Lord

* It has been generally underſtood in France, that the late duke of Bedford was the perſon who paid this viſit to the Tuileries; but as it is well known that his grace was not in France at that time, and as the fiction is alſo ſtrongly proved by the editor not being acquainted with either his rank or his name (for he calls him *Lord Bedfort*), we have judged it beſt, as we cannot aſcertain who the perſon really was, to retain the exact words of our author, and leave it to each of our readers to form his own opinion upon a point where we are incapable of giving him information.

Tranſlator's note.

Bedfort preſented himſelf amongſt them, introduced by one of the commandants of the national guard of Paris. "A philoſophical curioſity," ſaid he, "brings me hither; will it be allowable for me to requeſt permiſſion to ſee the abode of the laſt of your kings?" The commiſſaries, after having debated a few moments together, found no objection to ſatisfying the curioſity of the Engliſhman, and one of them was appointed to carry in his name, and to conduct him into the interior of the building. "France," ſaid this man to him, "is juſt now in the ſame ſituation that your country was a century and a half ago; with this difference, however, that Charles I. was dethroned and impriſoned by an audacious uſurper, whilſt with us it is a reunion of men which has depoſed Louis XVI. Charles was arreſted without oppoſition and without tumult, whilſt Louis has ſeen his palace taken by aſſault, and waſhed with the blood of his ſoldiers. I perceive alſo another very remarkable difference, which is that the repreſentatives of France have juſt convoked a national aſſembly to decide upon the fate of their king, whilſt in your country a ſingle man convoked the parliament to judge yours. Charles was a weak man like Louis. May the

reſem-

reſemblance of their fates end here! But I fear leſt, carried away by their paſſions and enthuſiaſm, the ——— but let us walk together over this palace of diſorder." As I was preſent at this converſation, I profited by this circumſtance, and followed them. They began by viſiting the right wing of the palace, at the end of which is the pavilion of Medicis.

In this part there are few curioſities.

They were at this moment taking the furniture out of the apartments of the king's aunts, and of all thoſe who had inhabited this wing, in in order to work at the ſaloon which the convention had ordered to be built for the holding of their aſſemblies. All the furniture was heaped up together in a large room at the top of the building. Our Engliſhman ſtopped a moment to examine this pile of furniture. "What a beautiful lacker," ſaid he, going up to a cheſt of drawers; "do you know what is intended to be done with this piece of furniture? If they are determined upon ſelling it, I ſhall like to buy it."

"I don't know yet," replied his conductor the commiſſary, "what determination they will come to; but let your wiſh to become a buyer

a buyer be known, and perhaps"—"That is uſeleſs," replied briſkly a man, who they told me was a member of the commiſſion of *Les Beaux Arts* *, "I am going to ſet this piece of furniture on one ſide." I know not what became of the cheſt of drawers; moſt likely it ſhared the ſame fate as the piano-forte and two other ſmall pieces of furniture of Maria-Antoinette did, which were coveted by this ſame man. The anecdote is curious enough for me to relate it.

C..... (that is the man's name) aſked the commiſſaries of the Tuileries to lend him a few pieces of furniture, and above all this piano, in order that he might have his daughter taught muſic upon it. He was not then ſo rich as he is now, but he did not let any means of becoming ſo paſs by him unuſed.

* Several commiſſaries had been appointed to go over the palace of the Tuileries, the houſes of the civil liſt, and thoſe of the emigrants, and to ſet aſide whatever rare or precious articles they might find in them, with which it was intended to lay the foundation of a Muſeum. I myſelf ſaw citizen C....., one of the appointed men, ſetting down in his catalogue chamber-pots of very ordinary china, tearing prints out of a collection which the queen had had bound up, and whilſt he was thus ſpoiling a fine ſet by ſeparating them, he deſpiſed ſome clocks made by Robin, which are eſteemed chef d'œuvres. No ſurpriſe will be excited by the *wiſdom* of this commiſſary, when our readers learn that he had been all his life a vender of faggots in a little town in the country.

"You know," was replied to his requeſt, "that nothing is allowed to be taken from hence; but there is a very eaſy way for *you* to borrow them, without owing an obligation to any body but yourſelf; ſet them down for *Les Beaux Arts*, and have them taken away." C..... ſeized this idea with rapture, put a mark upon the things, and had them carried to his own houſe. Still too delicate to take them entirely to himſelf, he gave one of the commiſſaries a bond for the things, and ſaid he ſhould return them when the ſale of the furniture took place. So paſſed on a year: at the end of which the auctioneer came to him one morning to take back the goods, and put them in the auction; and what anſwer do you think C..... made? "During the time of alarms, Robeſpierre had marked me out as one of his victims, on account of my friendſhip for Danton; and rather than leave my wife and my children in indigence, I ſold every thing I had, even to my library, and gave the money which they produced to my wife; thoſe pieces of furniture which belonged to the Tuileries are ſold with the reſt." The auctioneer brought this anſwer to the commiſſaries. "Go back to him," ſaid they, "and tell him to give you the money

they

they fetched." At this ſecond demand C . . . . . laughed in the face of the auctioneer, anſwered that he had none to ſend, and ſaid that if they choſe to go to law about it, he would ſhew them that they could not attack a deputy like him with impunity. He was indeed one of the principal men of the time.

This anecdote is proved by a letter of ſubmiſſion from C . . . . ., by the witneſs of the auctioneer, and the commiſſaries ſtill living. How many articles were made off with in the ſame way! How many drawing-rooms, and bondoirs which are admired at the preſent day, have been furniſhed in the like impudent manner! Will theſe robbers always enjoy in peace the fruits of their rapine?

After having examined this pile of furniture, great part of which had been damaged by the fury of the populace, my lord ſtopped in a large ſaloon which was prepared for the holding of an aſſembly. He inquired its uſe. "None now," they told him: "But it was in that ſaloon, that on the firſt day of that autumn the deſtiny of France had been fixed. It was there, from that place, that for the firſt time the eſtabliſhment of the republic was demanded; and alſo

there

there that a general and ſpontaneous voice put a ſtop to its exiſtence."—"But one thing ſtrikes and aſtoniſhes me; the carpets, the chairs, are all worked with lilies. How could they uſe furniture ſo expreſſive of royalty at the proclaiming of its deſtruction *?" It is like the cock in the fable; after a battle he mounts upon the ſpoil of his enemy, to chaunt forth his victory, and eſtabliſh his own empire.

"This brings me to another queſtion; which is, what became of thoſe inſignia of royalty the ſceptre and the crown?"—"The ſceptre was carried away on the tenth of Auguſt by the ſection of the Louvre, which ſtripped it of its emblems, and then ſent it to the mint. The crown ſhared the ſame fate." "I thank you,

* The following is a liſt of ſuch things, belonging heretofore to the crown, as were uſed at this ceremony. The king's council table, and its carpet; the table of the preſident with a carpet of velvet worked in lilies; an arm chair of green velvet trimmed with gold lace for the preſident; two arm chairs of ſtuff for the ſecretaries; ſeven chairs of Utrecht velvet for the miniſters; three laced chairs for the bar; ſixty-one ſtuffed chairs of velvet worked in lilies partly for the deputies: two carpets brought from the chapel for their feet; thirty-ſix ſtools of ſhag, and Utrecht velvet; three luſtres; one canopy; five other ſtuffed chairs for the aſſiſtants; one inkſtand of earthen-ware; ten candleſticks, of which ſix were plated, and four yellow; the whole taken from among the furniture of the palace of the Tuileries.

and

and beg of you to let me take a note of this, for my memory is very treacherous."

Whilſt our Engliſhman was employed in writing his notes with his pencil, a diſpute broke out at the end of the gallery, which drew my attention. I went up to the ſpot the noiſe proceeded from, and found two men quarrelling, one of whom was calling the other a thief. I inquired into the ſubject of complaint. He who was accuſing the other ſaid to me, "Do you ſee this man? By means of the miniſter of the interior, who is his patron, he got a lodging in this pavilion. When he came in, a great baſket ſerved to carry all his furniture, and he was in ſuch a miſerable ſtate in the garret that he inhabited, that the laſt time his wife lay-in, the baker refuſed to truſt him for a loaf of four livres. And now that he muſt turn out, he wants to carry with him a great deal more than he brought, though every body knows he has bought nothing. He has ſcraped together a very handſome collection of furniture, and now thinks that by leaving ſome of that behind, he ſhall be allowed to take away the reſt; but I ſhall not ſuffer it." However, the perſon accuſed did nothing but ſhrug up his ſhoulders, and packed up ſuch articles as he had

a mind

a mind to. I took the liberty of aſking this ſtickler for juſtice, who he might happen to be himſelf, and who was the man that he was accuſing.—" Me, Sir! I am only a ſimple workman, but I am an honeſt man; as for him he is only a deputy of one of the deputies of Paris, who whilſt he is waiting to procure a ſeat, is at the head of the adminiſtration of the horſes and carriages of the republic. You will hear him talked of one day; he makes a fine beginning; for during the four days that he has been in place, he has been changing ſome fine horſes of the emigrants for Roſinantes. As long as there is the proper number, he thinks all is right and well *." I left the diſputants, and went and rejoined the party which I had juſt quitted.

They

* This man, whom I was once thrown into the way of knowing, and whoſe name is an abuſe, ſince it means a robber, made one of the moſt rapid fortunes of them all. In the month of January 1793, he ſaid in a party where I happened to be; " I am a loſt man, I am 150,000 livres in debt, and I have not a ſingle ſous; I am hunted about by the proprietors of my theatre; and I am in momentary dread of being arreſted." Three months after, he was ſufficiently imprudent to ſay before the ſame people; " Wiſh me joy, my boys, I have payed my debts, and am worth 20,000 livres a year!" Every body turned his back upon him, and moved from him ſaying; *Qui feſtinat ditari, non erit innocens.* This man, who

They had ſtopped on a ſpot moſt offenſive to the olfactory nerves, cloſe by where a ſink had juſt been opened. Two unhappy nightmen, with their noſes tied up in bandages, and their ears ſtopped with lumps of greaſe, appeared at bottom employed in picking out the paper that had been thrown down amongſt the filth. As faſt as they found it, they hoiſted it up on the ends of their fingers, and the commiſſaries and deputies, who were awaiting its arrival laid hold of it with a pair of tongs, and plunged it into a tub full of vinegar. When the poor nightmen declared that they could find no more, the tub was carried away, and thoſe perſons who were appointed to examine the paper, eſcorted it on its way with

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who was formerly an actor, and a very indifferent one too, and whoſe name was B . . . . . t, had the adminiſtration of the horſes and carriages of the republic, managed to get into the convention as a deputy's deputy, and procured miſſions to be granted to him, which he turned to great advantage. In order to re-eſtabliſh worſhip, in which he had himſelf no belief, he put on the ſacerdotal habit, and ſaid maſs; he returned to Paris, bought a magnificent hotel in the fauxbourg Saint Martin, made a great many purchaſes, put out his money to intereſt in ſeveral houſes; kept miſtreſſes, divorced his wife, and lived *iſolé* and deſpiſed by all the world. But he cared little for that: during the time he had been feathering his neſt, he had learnt the art of making his face proof againſt bluſhing.

all

all poſſible gravity. For my part, I could not help laughing till I cried, as I compared the grave importance of the commiſſaries, who were holding their handkerchiefs to their noſes, with the diſguſting treaſure that they were following.

When they were out of ſight, and the air had diſperſed the peſtilential ſtink, and rendered it no longer perceptible, I enquired what had given occaſion to this filthy operation. "Marat," I was anſwered "had given information to the committee of general ſafety, that in the night of the ninth or tenth of Auguſt, Maria-Antoinette, was actuated, by the uncertainty of the event which was preparing, to throw into one of the neceſſaries of the palace, ſome papers and letters which might have been brought in evidence againſt her. He had even deſcribed," my informer ſaid, "what were the nature of theſe papers; and the committee had immediately appointed all theſe places of convenience to be ſearched, and had ordered ſome of its members to aſſiſt, and examine the paper which was taken out." "If the committee had acted wiſely," ſaid I to myſelf, "it would have obliged the informer Marat to have made the ſearch and examination himſelf; it would have been a

happy expedient for ridding the earth of this monſter."

Curious to know whether any eſſential diſcovery had been made through this paper, I enquired about it the next day : I was told that there had not; and that, ſtrict orders had been given that this operation ſhould not be noiſed about, as it would cauſe a laugh at the expence of the committee and commiſſaries. "They are in a terrible rage," added my informer," eſpecially Marat, at having been tricked in this filthy way." Since at that moment it was as dangerous to laugh, as to pity them, I held my tongue.

My lord having now been requeſted to defer purſuing his viſit till the next day, we parted; and I went home.

Having taken ſome food, and refreſhed myſelf, for a long faſt and a violent perſpiration had fatigued me very much, I ſhut myſelf up carefully in my cloſet. Alone, and certain that no one could ſee what I was doing, I drew from my breaſt a packet of papers, which an indiſcreet, and without doubt criminal curioſity had impelled me to take and ſecrete that morning in my viſit to the palace. In the univerſal diſorder of the place, many different articles were ſcattered

about

about, and expoſed to the gripe of any greedy hand. Certain that I was alone and had nothing to fear from my raſhneſs, I could not reſiſt reading ſome of the papers which now preſented themſelves before my eyes; and I ſhall give my readers the ſubſtance of their contents: but as they relate to a love intrigue between a married man, at that time in the ſuite of the king's aunts, and the mother of a family, who are both ſtill living, I muſt be allowed to ſuppreſs their real names, leſt I ſhould be the cauſe of promoting uneaſineſs in their two families. I ſhall only ſpeak of them under thoſe names which they aſſumed in their correſpondence with each other; and ſhould this work by chance fall into the hands of either of them, they will ſee that I have adhered moſt ſtrictly to the truth.

AMOURS OF EUGENE AND ADELAIDE.

Eugene, held under Meſdames, a very lucrative ſituation, which enabled him handſomely to ſupport his family, and to partake freely of amuſements. He was young, but being tired of the monotonous pleaſures of marriage, he encreaſed his acquaintance, in the hope of meeting in ſociety with ſome beauty who might have

power to rekindle the tender ſenſations in his heart. He, however, took care, by his attentions and reſpect, to conceal from his wife the deſire he felt to become untrue to her. I can aſſure my readers that Eugene was by no means an ill-diſpoſed man; for the reanimating of that paſſion which he had once felt for his wife, he only wanted to find at home leſs uniformity, and a little more innocent playfulneſs on her part; but ſhe, ſatisfied with poſſeſſing the huſband of her choice, thought only of uniformly loving him, and being faithful to him with a conſtancy that defied the very breath of ſuſpicion to taint it. She ſaw, however, that her dear Eugene was uneaſy; he returned home every day melancholy, and left the nuptial couch every night, to go and ſleep in a bed by himſelf.

Nothing more ſtrongly denotes the indifference of a huſband to his wife, and wives know it well, than for him to keep away from her bed; and what they know almoſt as well is, that infidelity almoſt always follows indifference. If this loving wife felt uneaſy, ſo as to utter any gentle complaints, Eugene threw the blame upon the times, which he ſaid coſt him much anxiety; and by this reply he brought himſelf off with his wife.

How

How many huſbands have hid under the ſame pretence, their infidelity and fooliſh expenſes. The revolution, however, gave Eugene no pain; from its firſt dawn he had adopted a line of conduct, which preſerved him ſafe from all its rocks; he threw up his cap for liberty with the patriots, and at the ſame time aſſured his protectreſſes that he only acted thus in order to be the better able to ſerve them. It was by this equivocal conduct that he managed to live in peace.

Eugene at length found ſuch an object as he had for a long time been looking for. It was at the fêtes which were given upon the federation of Frenchmen, that he firſt ſaw Adelaide. That kind of familiarity which was authorized by the enthuſiaſm of the moment, allowed him to follow her ſteps without being ſuſpected. He paid her attentions, which ſhe received; he told her that ſhe was handſome, and ſhe liſtened to him; he ſtammered out the word 'love,' and ſhe was not offended. At firſt Eugene did not know the ſituation of the object of his ſighs, and when he did diſcover it, he was not diſcouraged becauſe he found that ſhe was married.

Adelaide's age was twenty-five; for ſix years ſhe had been a wife; and twice already ſhe had

been a mother. Her parents without conſulting her inclination had united her to man of forty, who made her happy, as it happened. A lucrative trade enabled him to ſupport her in affluence, and ſhe had not even time given her to wiſh for any thing. Adelaide had not yet paid homage to the god of love, and he reſolved to be revenged on her.

I ſhall quickly paſs over all preludes to this intrigue. Thoſe little nothings are only precious to hearts as yet novices in the buſineſs. Let us go on to the firſt rendezvous. Adelaide did not grant one till the expiration of eight days, from the firſt interchange of glances, nor till ten letters had been received by her, and not one anſwered. My readers ſeeing me uſe the word rendezvous, will think they perceive the climax of the intrigue; but I beg of them not to be too precipitate in their judgement, leſt they deceive themſelves: Eugene and Adelaide are not every-day ſort of lovers.

No ſcandal can attach to them from the place of meeting being named, for it was a church; the time, at the end of the laſt maſs: here is, moreover, Adelaide's letter.

"Sir,

"Sir, I know that am doing wrong to write to you, and ſtill more wrong to grant you an interview; but a certain ſomething, I know not what, prompts me to liſten to you, in ſpite of myſelf. However, to guard me againſt you and againſt myſelf, I ſhall make choice of a place which muſt impoſe on us the greateſt reſerve; ſo, on Saturday I ſhall be at the church of Les Petits Peres between twelve and one o'clock."

On reading this billet, Eugene glowed with triumph; and it muſt be ſaid, that any leſs preſumptuous man would have done the ſame in his place. Adelaide confeſſing in the ſame ſentence her love, her weakneſs, and her fears of yielding; to allow ſhe had no ſurety againſt herſelf but a ſacred ſpot of ground! But wait a moment, my friend Eugene, you do not yet know the idol of your heart. Plan your ſieges, multiply your attacks, laviſh your vows; you will ſtand in need of all love's ſtratagems. You have addreſſed yourſelf to a woman of a moſt extraordinary character; ſhe can love, and ſtill reſiſt you.

Meanwhile, the day of appointment came;—perhaps our readers think that Eugene was not true to his time; from eleven o'clock glued to a pillar of the church, he ſtood with his eyes fixed

upon the entrance. You might have counted the people that came in, by the deep ſighs that proceeded from his breaſt every time the hinges of the door grated upon one another. At laſt, a particularly violent beating of his heart, informed him that it muſt be his dearly-beloved who was approaching; ſhe ſaw him out of the corners of her eyes, and went and placed herſelf at the top of the nave, but on the oppoſite ſide. At length the ſolemn-faced devout retired, and left in the church only the images of the gods, Eugene, Adelaide, and love. Then Eugene approached her, an explanation took place, and they left the church after about an hour's converſation. I ſhould ſtill be ignorant of the reſult of that converſation without the letter that follows.

Adelaide to Eugene.

"It is in vain that you torment me with your letters which I nevertheleſs read with pleaſure; I will not depart from what I told you on Saturday at Les Petits Peres. If this kind of engagement pleaſes you, I am ready to enter into it. Fix you the day in which we may unite ourſelves by a common vow: but, before you take it, reflect

upon

upon all I have told you; and leſt you ſhould have forgotten it, I will repeat it to you.

"We are both connected with perſons who are not of our own choice; our hearts conſequently are not united, our bodies only are engaged by the oath which we pronounced on our marriage. What ſhould we gain by violating this oath, but the enjoyment of carnal pleaſures with another? but as it is in our own power to obtain thoſe of the heart, or, better to expreſs myſelf, of the ſoul, why ſhould we not unite ourſelves by what is ſo admirably named a platonic attachment? Every other connection would be criminal in my eyes, particularly ſo as my huſband leaves me no wiſh ungratified, and I am inclined to think the ſame of your conduct towards your wife. Conſider whether this connection of affection ſuits you; and reflect well before you form it, that there never will exiſt between us any ſenſual pleaſure.

"If, as you have aſſured me, your heart has never loved ſolely for the pleaſure of loving, and that I am ſhe who has raiſed in you divine ſenſations; on my part, I ſolemnly proteſt that you are the only man who has taught me that I have a heart. Let us then interchange, and unite our

ſouls.

ſouls. One word more and I have done; believe that I await with fear and impatience an anſwer which ſhall tell me that I have judged rightly of Eugene."

The letter of this moſt extraordinary woman produced an anſwer which we have not ſeen, but at the contents of which we may gueſs from the ſequel of this intrigue. Eugene accepted the propoſal of our new ſylph. Adelaide required that they ſhould be united by a vow at the altar; and the church of Les Petits Peres was choſen for the ceremony. To this church, upon an appointed day, they both came about an hour after noon, dreſſed as for a wedding. Kneeling at the foot of the great altar, they each drew blood from that part of the breaſt, where the heart beats with the ſtrongeſt pulſations. Eugene caught in a china ſaucer the blood of Adelaide, and his own; and after having mixed them together, he dipped in them a pen, and wrote down the following vow, to which they each ſwore in their turn.

"*I ſwear that my heart wiſhes only to enjoy ſuch ſenſations as ſpring from the ſoul.* (Adelaide.)

(Eugene.) *To which I promiſe fidelity, renouncing in our union every ſenſual enjoyment.*"

A dupli-

A duplicate of this ſingular vow was drawn out, and ſigned by the contracting parties:—a kiſs ſealed it. Eugene took charge of the pen with which it was written; and after the reſt of the blood was congealed, they each had a ſhare of it, and then dined together.

This union was maintained in all its purity for one year; a difference of opinion upon the revolution broke it off; and whether or not it is renewed again, I am ignorant;—all that I know is, that they are both ſtill alive. The letter from which I have extracted this anecdote, and which I have returned to Eugene, would furniſh a much more curious correſpondence, than any of our modern novels. Adelaide had much more ſenſe than Eugene; her ſoul truly platonic, frequently gave birth to ideas of the moſt novel, and often ſublime nature.

I beg my readers will not conſider this tale as a child of my imagination, but, as it really is, a moſt undoubted truth.

In the evening, when I again met the Engliſhman, I made known to him my diſcovery; and we enjoyed a hearty laugh together. "I am very much vexed," ſaid he, "at the diſorder which prevails in this part of the palace; the unfur-

unfurniſhing of the apartments of the king's aunts, has prevented my making many obſervations which I wiſhed. Perhaps you may not think as I do; but I am of opinion myſelf, that you may find as many ſigns to judge of any one's character by, from ſeeing how a thouſand little articles are arranged in their apartments, as from the books which they read: they are the little nothings that reveal our habits, and it is from our habits that propenſities are diſcovered. It is impoſſible to decide upon the character of people of rank from ſeeing them in public; a ſet manner, a ſmiling face, and a voice of ſoftneſs, entirely maſk them from ſcrutiny; ſo true is this, that all courtiers, all men ſeeking favour from the great, all men of intrigue who know what they are about, always addreſs themſelves to ſervants, whom they cajole, and buy from them a knowledge of the vices and virtues of their maſters, by which they regulate their conduct towards them. Thus they never addreſs the great without being prepared to flatter their foibles; and it is the only way of being upon a good footing in a a court. Conciny made himſelf beloved by Henry IV., by flattering his licentious taſte; father La Chaiſe by talking to Louis XIV. of

his

his glory and military exploits, brought the Jeſuits into power; the infamous Dubois committed a thouſand follies to pleaſe the regent, and obtained his end of governing in his name by flattering his low debaucheries; Necker, laſtly, ſhouldered all his faults upon Louis XVI. by talking to him of the good and happineſs of his people, which were the ruling paſſions of this unhappy monarch."

"Without wiſhing to diſcuſs this point," I replied, "I ſhall merely obſerve to you that had not the apartments of the king's aunts been ſtripped of their furniture, you could not have drawn from them any traits of character; they have left France for more than a year." "Indeed, I did not know that." "Beſides, the apartments which they occupied in the Tuileries, were, properly ſpeaking, only a temporary abode; their conſtant reſidence was the palace of Belle-Vue." "Can you tell me any particulars about theſe unhappy women, and why they left the king?" "Their religious ideas were the only reaſon.

"There is very little to be ſaid about theſe ladies.

"Their life was retired and tranquil, nor had it been diſturbed by any political interference; ſometimes they were ſolicited to obtain favours from the king, whom they loved extremely. Madame Adelaide in particular was very much attached to him; ſhe had, as I may ſay, brought him up. It gave them much anxiety to perceive the aſcendency which the queen gained over her huſband, becauſe ſhe abuſed the power ſhe acquired. They ſuſpected that ſhe did not like the French: more than once they were on the point of informing the king of certain intrigues, and proceedings inimical to France; but they forbore from an apprehenſion of embittering the future days of their nephew. At the revolution, they predicted what would happen *; and, what is extraordinary, they did not ſtir up the king to ward off the blow.

"At the time the organization of the clergy firſt appeared, Meſdames, ſeemed as it were, to awake from a long drowſineſs, and to act againſt its effect with all their power, but ſecretly. The prieſts who refuſed to ſubmit to it, were aſſured

* See the Secret Correſpondence of ſeveral People of Rank towards the End of the eighteenth Century, p. 57. 108. 122.

of

of aſſiſtance and ſupport from them. Merely from the fear of being impoſed upon, they always took care to gain ſome information about them before they relieved them. In the ſame manner, and with the ſame precautions, were their charities beſtowed. If any one in diſtreſs ſolicited alms, they appointed a ſervant to get information concerning him in his pariſh, and from his curate; and upon this report, they gave or refuſed. By means of theſe precautions their charities were always well beſtowed.

"In a ſhort time theſe men (the prieſts) began to diſturb the conſciences of Meſdames. 'How can you,' ſaid they to them, 'perform your devotions, above all thoſe relating to Eaſter, in France? You will expoſe yourſelves to receive the ſacrament from the hand of an orthodox prieſt; there is only one way left you, which is to leave France. Go to Spain.' Meſdames agreed to leave France; but family reaſons cauſed them to reject the idea of living at Madrid, and they determined upon Rome. Still they muſt have the king's leave; and they feared that on granting it, he would reproach them for leaving him. In order to do away as much as lay in their power all obſtacles to their wiſh, they

they attacked him with the arms of religion, with which they know they could conquer him. On the eighteenth of January 1791, they wrote to him a common letter which they both ſigned. In this letter they told the king 'that, their affection for him rendering them afraid to ſpeak to him of their departure, they had taken the means of of informing him of their intention by letter: they recalled to his mind the want of attention he had ſhewn to the advice which they had given him upon the revolution; they reproached him with having given his ſanction to the ſchiſm which the national aſſembly had juſt introduced into France, and which was cloaked as much as poſſible from him. This ſchiſm,' added the aunts, 'will bring on an entire ſubverſion and deſtruction of religion; and this is the reaſon which obliges us to leave you. Whilſt we were only called upon to ſacrifice to you our poſſeſſions and our peace of mind, we ſtaid with you; but the ſacrifice of our religion is beyond our power. This feeling, the ſtrongeſt in the heart of a true chriſtian, belongs to God and not to man. We cannot enter into terms with our conſciences.

Paſſing

"Paſſing on immediately to the conſent which they wiſhed to obtain from him, they added that they were deſtitute of money to ſupply them on their journey to Rome, and aſked his leave to procure a loan in his name *. In order to induce him the more freely to give his conſent, they added that they ſhould ſtop for ſome time at Bruſſels; that if, during the ſtay which they intended to make there, things returned to their former order in France, they would come back; but that if at the end of ſix months they ſaw no change, they would go on to Rome. Two different motives lead me to believe that Meſdames did not adhere ſtrictly to the truth in writing to

* Their caſhier undoubtedly borrowed money for their departure; and, during their reſidence in Rome, ſent them at ſeveral different times ſums which he had borrowed in his own name, not being able to raiſe any in theirs. Truth obliges us to ſay that they died without paying him 40,000 livres, which he ſent them at different times, and which put him to great inconvenience. He had no bond for theſe ſums. As ſoon as they had received them they were ſatisfied with writing back; "You have executed your commiſſion very well, we have received your letter, &c." And afterwards, when they had received a very large ſum of money, which a Roman lady left them at her death, all to no avail was it that he wrote to them explaining his diſtreſs, and begging to be repaid what he had lent them; he did not even receive an anſwer. Being obliged to pay the money which he had borrowed for Meſdames, he was entirely ruined, and lived upon the bounty of his ſon who had a place that brought him in a ſalary of 1800 livres.

the king that they ſhould ſtay ſome time at Bruſſels. The firſt is, that they do not like the archduchefs, Chriſtina, ſiſter to the queen of France, and governeſs of the Low Countries: the aunts were perſuaded that Chriſtina was the enemy of the Bourbons, and of their family; they had more than once held a conference with the king upon the ſubject. The ſecond is, that they did not ſtop at all at Bruſſels, but proceeded without delay to Rome.

"The receipt of this letter chagrined the king extremely, as he has ſince confeſſed. He wiſhed to ſee his aunts, to converſe with them, to turn them if poſſible from their deſign. It was all to no purpoſe that he repreſented to them that if they left him, he ſhould be without relations, and above all without a friend to whom he could confide his griefs. In vain was his withholding as long as he was able the conſent which they required; nothing could make them change their reſolution. Upon the king's refuſal at firſt of his conſent, they ſaid that they ſhould be obliged to go without it; which determined their nephew to grant it, in order to avoid thoſe diſagreements which nevertheleſs took place.

"Theſe

"Theſe, Sir, are all the particulars that I am acquainted with concerning the king's aunts *. I have read a correſpondence which treats of the ſubject, and which enables me to aſſure you that you may truſt to what I have ſaid.

"You doubtleſs know they quitted their palace at Belle-Vue ſecretly on the nineteenth of February 1791, at eleven o'clock in the evening."

* I would recommend to ſuch of my readers as are curious to learn the hiſtory of the royal family, to read thoſe of the aunts, of Madame Lamballe, and of Madame Elizabeth.

CHAP. V.

VISIT TO THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.

SECOND DAY.

A ſhort View of the Character of all claſſes of Society before the Revolution.—Its Origin.—Cauſes of its ſo ſudden Developement.—Different Anecdotes about Malſherbes, Turgot, and Necker.—Necker propoſes to Louis XVI. to place a Roüe * *at the Head of the Finance.—Cauſe of the Diſcharge of Sertines, and the Nomination of Caſtries.—Quarrels between Calonne and Necker.—The different Means employed by the latter to get into Place again.—His Letters to Louis XVI.—Obſervations on the tenth of Auguſt.—Coup d'œuil of the Palace of the Tuileries after the Irruption into it.*

THE next day, I went to the palace at the hour that had been mentioned to my lord. I thought I ſhould have arrived there firſt, but I found him talking with the commiſſary who was to accompany him in his viſit. After the uſual civilities at meeting, our Engliſhman ſaid to me, "We are talking, Sir, about the cauſes and effects of your revolution." "It is impoſſible to chuſe a place better fitted to the ſubject," I replied. "It was upon the ruins of Carthage that Cato reflected

* I know no Engliſh word which exactly correſponds with ROUE, the neareſt definition I am able to give of it is what we call a *blood*. *Tranſlator's note.*

upon

upon the viſciſſitudes of human greatneſs; you are imitating his example, ſeated amidſt the ruins of the throne——" I cut ſhort my ſentence; "we are talking nonſenſe," I went on, "upon—" "Sir," returned the Engliſhman, "that word is very far from my thoughts. Let us leave joking entirely out of the queſtion; it is unbecoming to us both;—to you, becauſe you are a Frenchman, and that it is indecent for any Frenchman, whichever party he may be of, to laugh over the dead bodies of his countrymen, yet ſcarcely cold; to me, becauſe I am an Engliſhman, and it would be thought that I was ſmiling at the diſtreſs of a country in rivalry with my own." A moment of ſilence enſued, during which a ſigh eſcaped us both. My lord ſpoke firſt; "I was telling you, Sir, that when you came in, we were endeavouring to aſſign to the revolution its true cauſes; the commiſſary is of my opinion, but I am curious to learn yours." "We have ſtill, Sir, a quarter of an hour to be alone," ſaid the commiſſary, looking at his watch, "and we ſhall with pleaſure dedicate it to liſtening to you; the gentleman, to whom I have told your name, is extremely impatient to hear what you ſhall ſay." I bowed; ſtammered out a few words of

thanks; and then ſpoke, as nearly as may be, what follows:

"The ſeed of our revolution, according to my opinion, is found in every ſtate and in every claſs of ſociety; but difficult would it be to name the exact time, and individual man, who nouriſhed it into bloom; in order to make this diſcovery we muſt turn over the far diſtant pages of the hiſtory of France. Behold on one ſide the monarch committing the firſt arbitrary action, and on the other the man who firſt had the courage to oppoſe the language of liberty to the abuſe of authority. All the hiſtorians who have treated of this ſubject, have ſtopped at recent dates, and have rather ſought to diſcover the cauſe of its developement, than its primitive germ. This is alſo the reaſon that they appear ſo little of accord amongſt themſelves. Each party accuſes its oppoſite of the ſubverſion of affairs which has taken place; and contradictory as are their aſſertions, each party is equally in the right. For example, the partizan of liberty aſſigns as the cauſes of the revolution, the ill-adminiſtration of the finances, the great number of ſpecial grants, the burden of the taxes, the vices of thoſe at the head of the government, and the impunity which attended

their

their debaucheries, &c. &c. The hiſtorian on the ſide of royalty, whilſt he confeſſes that the court, and the government were tainted with abuſes which required a reform, attributes the revolution to the doctrines of a new philoſophy, to the ſanction granted to various religions inimical to the Roman catholick worſhip, to the kind of education given to the youth, to the American war, to the hatred of our neighbours, to the ambition of the firſt prince of the blood, to the clubs eſtabliſhed in the capital before the revolution *.

* We will here give a liſt of the principal writers on both ſides, whom the patriots and royaliſts have taken for their compaſs in their diſcuſſions. On one ſide are Bayle, Fontenelle, Monteſquieu, Lametterie, Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Raynal, Diderot, Mably, Marmontel, Condorcet, D'Alembert; on the other, Aubert, Luneau, Pompignan, Piron, Fréron ſenior, Sabathier, Clemert, Linguet, Gilbert, Para, Soret, Gérard, Pey, Auger, Berthier, Houbigant. We muſt not be ſurpriſed that the former made more proſelytes than the others; by their ſyſtem, they appear as it were to new-create man, by recalling him to his dignity. What elſe ſpeaks in their favour, is the countenance they all received from crowned heads. Catherine and Frederick called them to their court, correſponded with them, gave penſions to many, and entertainments to all. George III. offered a penſion to the ſavage Rouſſeau which he rejected. Joſeph, Leopard, and Ferdinand put their ideas in practice, by aboliſhing the monks in their territories.

"Only, Gentlemen, juſt take a curſory view of the contradictions of all ſorts which were to be found in the adminiſtration of our government. In the colleges, for example, pains were taken to inculcate into the minds of youth, deſtined to live in ſubmiſſion to a king, the ideas of Spartans. They heard only of the laws of Solon, and Lycurgus, without having a word ſaid to them by their inſtructors of the nature of the monarchial government to which they were in ſubmiſſion. Epaminondas, Cicero, Themiſtocles, Cato, Curtius, the Horatii, Scævola, and even the two Brutus's, were held up to them as models; and, what was very remarkable, they were the eccleſiaſtics, the Roman catholick prieſts in their ſkull caps and caſſocks, who gave them theſe aſtoniſhing leſſons of republicaniſm, and idolatry. And what was the conſequence? that the young heads began to hold themſelves up; went to the theatre to applaud the death of Cæſar, to weep over thoſe of Seneca, and Socrates, and to laugh at the droleries of the Barber of Seville, and the Marriage of Figaro.

"When they were not in college, they read with avidity Rouſſeau, Voltaire, Diderot, Monteſquieu,

teſquieu, D'Alembert, Raynal, &c. &c.. Then they reflected upon the means of putting into practice the ſyſtems of all theſe writers; they ſaw it was poſſible, and they haſtened the approach of ſuch an event by their words, and their conduct. Now all this portion of the ſucceeding generation who had ſucked in theſe principles, ſcattered amongſt the different claſſes of ſociety from which they ſprung, whatever they had read and learnt in an exagerated ſhape; creating thus new ideas, in all ſtations and all families. Even in the very heart of the country, the name of the Romans was in vogue, and they talked of their republican government. Every thing was thus ſo ripe for a revolution, that at the moment the air was ſtruck with the name of Les Etats-Généraux, the old word of liberty was immediately felt to vibrate throughout France.

" Let us now paſs on to the different ſtates of Society in France. The court had not for a length of time reflected that ſplendor, which had formerly ſerved as a deluſion to impoſe a reverence for it upon the people.

The laſt king had diſgraced himſelf in the eyes of his ſubjects, by having publicly ſeated upon

upon the right hand of the throne, a courteſan of low extraction, and impure morals *.

" The weakneſs of his ſucceſſor, gave his queen opportunity of doing away whatever of weight there ſtill remained about the majeſty of the throne; and the ſuppreſſion of etiquette, by curtailing all pomp, by ſhowing thoſe who were at the head of government, naked as it were, made the man be ſeen, and the monarch forgotten. Add to this, the affair of the necklace, the free pleaſures of Antoinette, the parſimonious economy of the king, the prodigalities of the courtiers, the diviſions between the grandees, and you will

* For a long time there were a great many diſputes about the origin of Madame Dubarry. Some ſaid ſhe was a natural daughter, and this report was moſt believed. I learnt from M. Demange, a prieſt and principal of the college of Epinal, her god-father, that ſhe was the legitimate daughter of a man named Lange, clerk of the farms of Vaucouleurs. He told me, in ſpeaking of his god-daughter, that a little time after ſhe was acknowledged the miſtreſs of Louis XV. he received from her a moſt gracious letter, in which ſhe promiſed to obtain for him whatever he might aſk of her. " I contented myſelf," added he, "with thanking her, for I ſhould have bluſhed to have received an obligation from an unhappy woman of her kind." Few men doubtleſs would have argued thus: few men alſo had ſuch correct principles as the ineſtimable Demange. The Voſges owe in a great meaſure to him, their exemption from ſuffering by the fanaticiſm of the prieſts.

have

have a correct idea of the vices and follies of the court.

"The nobility in France had encreaſed ſo rapidly in the courſe of a century, that it was no longer an honour to belong to them: they reckoned 80,000 families of the nobles; 4000 civil offices which gave hereditary nobility. The king was, beſides, making grants of nobility every day; they were ſold at 2000 crowns each after the war of ſucceſſion.

"Inferior alliances beſides had made the nobles the relations of the little tradeſpeople; and it was no uncommon thing to hear a cobler talking of his couſin the chevalier. The ancient nobility nevertheleſs had preſerved itſelf in its original purity; like the German barons, they choſe rather to live in ſtrait circumſtances, than to tarniſh the honour of their name: the greateſt part of them lived on penſions, and lucrative places. This great abundance of nobles overburthened the ſtate by their numberleſs privileges, and their exemptions from taxes. It was this oppreſſion, againſt which ſo great a cry was raiſed, that was one of the cauſes of the perſecutions they endured afterwards. Add to this, the pride of the poor nobles; the anger of

the

the country at the diſtinctions granted to the nobles of the court; and you will perceive the reaſon of the demarkation which prevailed amongſt the nobility at the beginning of the revolution.

" The clergy, diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of the high, and the low clergy *, did not ſeem to follow the ſame doctrine. The low clergy, conſiſting of the curates, ſet as far as lay in their power, a chaſte example of the chriſtain virtues. In the country they were beſides the conſolers of the unhappy, and in the towns they were remarkable for the propriety of their conduct, and the regularity of their morals. The high clergy, on the contrary, conſiſting of archbiſhops, and biſhops, were for the moſt part, notorious for exceſs of free indulgence. Repoſing on their vicars and their ſecretaries the care of the faith, they cloaked the opprobrioufneſs of their conduct, under the appearance and ſhow of great dignity †.

" Conſtantly

* Le haut & le bas.

† L' * * * ., one of theſe prelates, rivalled in diſſoluteneſs the debauchées of the court. In his epiſcopal palace he had collected together ſeveral handſome young girls, in whoſe ſociety he bad defiance to the ennui

of

"Conſtantly at court, or in the capital, they were never ſeen in their dioceſe except when they came to confirm, or to oppreſs their curates, whom they treated like ſervants. They were the true deſcendents of the cardinal D'Auvergne, who one day ſaid to Duclos the academician, 'I found all my ſervants ill, except the curate of . . . . . .'

"When by chance any one of theſe prelates appeared at the altar, he was decked out like an Adonis; and the perfumes with which he was covered ſo ſtrongly ſcented the ſacred ſpot on which he ſtood, that it was difficult to ſmell the incenſe that was burning in honour of the Eternal.

"For a long time they had left off getting into the pulpit; they had entirely given up to the modeſt paſtor the taſk of preaching to the people. Their periodical mandates impoſed no

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of ſome months reſidence in a ſmall town in the country. When he went his rounds in his dioceſe in order to beſtow the bleſſing of confirmation, he was always accompanied by one of his ladies dreſſed as a man. And it was always a favourite joke with him in paſſing through his villages to have her taken for him; to this end, he uſed to get upon horſeback himſelf, and leave her alone in the mitred coach, to receive the homage of all the country people, who miſtook her for my lord the biſhop.

longer upon the moſt denſe of the people; and without ſome reſpectable curates in the country, the people would of their own accord have ſnapped the curb of religion, ſo neceſſary to ſocial order.

"The words of Jean Jacques were become a proverb; when a mandate was iſſued, he uſed to aſk, "Has my lord read it himſelf?" Confeſſion, that dangerous but precious weapon of the faith, impoſed no longer except on a very ſmall portion of the people. The man of education and ſenſe had thrown off this yoke; the eaſy tradeſman ſtill kept his neck in it for the ſake of appearances; but he ſatisfied himſelf with confeſſing only things of no importance: women alone entered the confeſſional chair *.

"In

* I ſhall give an example of what I have been advancing that fell under my own cogniſance; three married men, friends in pleaſure, made a party to enjoy themſelves one holy Friday, and gave into every exceſs which the day proſcribes. The next day they reflected that the following was Eaſter-Sunday; they knew a confeſſor who was not very ſcrupulous, and to him they went: the two firſt came out of the confeſſional obliged to own, to their ſhame, that they had not received abſolution; the third went in, and to him it was granted. They met at the door of the church, and the two who were excluded from the communion table were making great lamentations; the third laughed,

"In the country, they ſat and yawned at the ſermons which they went to hear merely from cuſtom; they murmured at the paying of tythes; and they ſhut their doors upon the croud of uſeleſs monks whom they conſidered only as a tax upon the ſtate. In a word, the prieſts were now only conſidered in ſociety in the ſame light as phyſicians; every one put off as long of he was able the evil moment of giving them employment.

"Caſt your eye back to the military, you could ſee no longer amongſt them the ſpirit of emulation which once animated the French knights. A ridiculous point of honour had taken the place of true glory. Inſtead of learning the art of war, an officer thought only of diſtributing in his garriſon the immorality that he had picked up during his ſix month's reſidence in the capital; not being able to vaunt of his warlike exploits, he prided himſelf upon having ſe-

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laughed, and ſaid that he was then going to partake of the ſacrament. "How can that be poſſible?" aſked his companions, "we have juſt had it interdicted to us on account of the debauch we enjoyed together yeſterday; how can you be abſolved when we are not?" "Becauſe I never told of it at all," anſwered he. "There are three things which I only confeſs to God; it is very dangerous to ſpeak of them to one who might abuſe his knowledge."

duced

duced innocent young girls, and inſtead of being crowned with the laurels of Bellona, he was *bouquéd* with the myrtle of love.

" A long peace, it may be ſaid, had ſuffered their valour to ſleep; and it was impoſſible for them to exerciſe their courage againſt the enemies of the ſtate. Without doubt, conſolatory and beneficent peace had reigned for a long time in France; but was that a ſufficient cauſe for the warrior to be chained down, as it were, to the bed of voluptuous ſlumber? How did the ancient worthies act in ſimilar circumſtances?

" As war, that diſtructive ſcourge of humanity, is always in ſome quarter of the globe waving her blood ſpear, ſeeming only to abandon one part of the earth in order to take her ſeat in another, thoſe brave men, from whom our gentlemen pride themſelves upon being deſcended, obtained the leave of their ſovereign, to go and offer their ſwords to ſome power at war, and always returned decked with laurels, and loaded with preſents. Thus was eſtabliſhed the reputation of French valour which will always be the envy of every other nation. Similar opportunities have not been wanting ſince the peace of 1763. The theatre of war has always been open in ſome

quarter

quarter of Europe; Turkey, Ruſſia, Poland, Germany, Sweden, and other ſtates have been alternately waging war ever ſince that period, and have, to no purpoſe, opened to French valour a road to glory. It only revived in a few hearts when the Americans ſet up the ſtandard of independence.

"Then indeed we ſaw ſeveral gentlemen ſet out, with the permiſſion of their king, to gather laurels in the new world. Let us pay homage to theſe young warriors, for in departing for Philadelphia they had no other views, than ſuch as valour had raiſed in their breaſts; and if they brought from thence ſeeds of liberty, which have ſince blown in Paris, the blame muſt be laid upon the philoſophical taſte of the age, rather than upon any well-digeſted intention of republicaniſing France.

"The conduct of Louis XVI. at this juncture may be conſidered as the moſt immediate cauſe of his ruin. If his political views directed him to cruſh the power of the Engliſh, in protecting by his wealth, and his ſhips, the independence of the Anglo-Americans, prudence ordained that he ſhould prevent his warriors from reading thoſe principles of liberty which hardy hiſtorians have

laboured to inculcate into the minds of their countrymen. But the effects ſo contrary to his expectation were fated to be the date of this unfortunate monarch's fall.

" Was it not laughable to ſee iſſued, as we may ſay at the ſame moment, on one ſide a grant for our young warriors to go and fight for the foundation of a republic, and on the other a command to have the works of Raynal, le Contrat-Social of Rouſſeau, and other ſimilar works, which ſet forth the happineſs of a republican government, ſeized and burnt by the hands of the hangman?

" If you had payed a moment's attention to the diſpoſition of the ſoldier you would have ſeen him murmuring whenever he was obliged to attend to the duties of his profeſſion; his exerciſe, his ſtable duty, were to him a burden; he was always ſighing for the moment that brought him his diſcharge, and counting every day that he had ſtill to paſs with his regiment. The barracks were no longer the ſchool of Mars; they talked there no longer of the military exploits of former days. Veterans who had ſeen ſervice were very few; if there were any who would have talked of Prague and Meuden, they were

called old dotards and left to themſelves, while the young profligates who bragged of the number of their debts, and the conqueſts they had made in love, were ſurrounded with liſteners. Almoſt all the army, particularly the light troops, were compoſed of young fellows who had enliſted through idleneſs, and whom their relations bought out again at the end of two or three years. The young countryman, whom the cunning of a recruiting ſerjeant had enliſted, paſſed his eight years quietly in the ſervice, but never entered upon a ſecond engagement. Thus it may be ſaid that every eighth year, nineteen-twentieths of the army were new men. The officers, improperly called the officers of fortune, and the ſubalterns, were all the ſtationary members of the army.

"This was the actual ſtate of the military at the revolution. But let us ſtill confeſs that this ſtate of the army was not of ancient date. Before the time of the miniſter of St. Germain, the warlike emulation and ſpirit were conſtantly kept up; but the German regimen which this man introduced amongſt our troops, had diſguſted the ſoldiers, rendered their lives inſupportable, and divided the army between thoſe who choſe

to execute the orders of the miniſter, and thoſe who refuſed to obey him.

"The parliament, that body which from the moment of its creation, had ſo conſtantly varied its conduct in alternately attacking and ſupporting the throne; in protecting and trampling upon the people by turns; no longer inſpired any claſs with confidence; it could now only make the unhappy man who was engaged in a ſuit tremble, by the uncertainty of its juriſprudence. The inferior tribunals no longer afforded an aſylum againſt oppreſſion and trouble, and the venality of places had rendered the judges intereſted. From intereſt to ſeduction there is but one ſtep, and that ſtep was taken; under the ſhelter of a crowd of ill-explained laws, and contradictory precedents, they always found means to ſupport any cauſe, however weak, by a ſhow of juſtice; and it was almoſt always ſeen that the man of power and the dull financier made a victim of any unhappy being who had the imprudence to wreſtle with them. The advocates were no longer the defenders of the widow and orphan; they were no longer that independent ſet of men, of whom a great king ſaid, 'that he could

could impoſe ſilence on them, but that he had not the power of making them ſpeak.'

"For one Dupaty, and Lachelotais, how many advocates did they reckon, who undertaking the firſt cauſe that was offered to them, without troubling themſelves whether it was a juſt or unjuſt ſuit, calculated upon it only, like greedy lawyers, how much they might augment their profit by ſpinning out the verdict. Magiſtracy, alſo, no longer drew that reſpect which is the ſole praiſe of its conduct and its talents.

"The oppoſition which the parliament of Paris, and in imitation of it thoſe of the provinces of France, made to the regiſtering of ſtamps and the land-tax, procured them for a ſhort time the public confidence: they even called them the props of the people at the time they demanded a convocation of les Etats Généraux: but the reſiſtance which they ſhortly after oppoſed to the double repreſentation of the Tiers Etat, and their ultimate conduct, gave a complete proof that in their oppoſition they had conſulted only their own power and intereſt; ſo from that moment they were doubted and deſpiſed, and

their deſtruction was regarded not to ſay with indifference, but with joy.

" All knowledge of the arts and ſciences was almoſt excluſively found in the middling ſtation of the people in the towns; which gave them that pride ſo much cenſured by the firſt claſſes of the ſtate. The reſpect which foreigners ſhowed for the well informed bourgeois, convinced him of his own merit. Hence aroſe the never ceaſing diſſatisfaction at the excluſive admiſſion of the nobles to the firſt offices of the ſtate; hence alſo ſprung thoſe continual attempts to remove the obſtacle, and deſtroy its privileges. Beſides ſcience, the arts and education, induſtry was alſo to be found in the middle rank of ſociety. For a long time they had all been poſſeſſed of property, and had earned for the ſtate at leaſt the half of its revenue.

" So many advantages rendered the middle rank jealous and diſſatisfied; it ſaw itſelf trampled upon, oppreſſed, and deprived of the rights and diſtinctions to which it juſtly believed itſelf to have a claim: it became irritated, united its ſtrength, and ended in collecting that formidable body, from whence proceeded the doctrine that

biaſſed

biaſſed the minds of the greater part of the nation, and even of ſome of the high clergy, and nobles themſelves.

"The inhabitant of the country bore impatiently the yoke of ſervitude, the ſurcharges of the cuſtoms, and the expences of the ſalt duties, and of the taxes. He was no longer that heavy ſlave, indifferent to the gifts of nature. Since he had been enabled to lay up money, emulation and the idea of making a fortune had in ſome meaſure reſtored to him a ſoul. A proper ſenſe of his own rights had long been felt by him, and this main ſpring of the actions of man had given him courage to wreſtle with his lord. The farmer who had laid by any money, ſent his ſon to college, intending to make him either a prieſt, a lawyer, or a phyſician; but three quarters of theſe youths who filled the colleges, returned home long before the expiration of the eight years deſtined for ſtudy, rather chooſing to drive the plough, than to dig after the dead languages. But even the ſmall portion of time which they had beſtowed on education, had given them ſome ideas of hiſtory and the ſciences. In an evening, fairy tales gave place to the recital of fragments of the Grecian and Roman hiſtories. In ſhort,

there was not a village where the names of Veſta, Alcibiades, Auguſtus, and Nero, were not talked of, and confounded together. And this confuſion, which a traveller could not hear without a ſmile, was nevertheleſs one of the principal cauſes of the little aſtoniſhment, and ready ſubmiſſion which the inhabitants of the country ſhewed upon the revolution. You muſt perceive, that in that ſituation of the ſenſes, when all the pores of intellect are, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, wide open, and ready to ſuck in any new ideas, however gigantic they may be, nothing could be more eaſy, than to win the confidence and voices of this large portion of ſociety; and by theſe means to eſtabliſh a ſecret chain of communication between the moſt refined in ſenſe, and thoſe who had no ſenſe at all.

"It ſtill remains for us to conſider that laſt claſs of ſociety which is found in every ſtate, without by any means making a part of it. Without any fixed abode, without any particular occupation, its members are every where to be found, and to be employed upon any thing; in ſhort, it is to the order of ſociety what the foam is to the ſea. In calm weather, concealed beneath the weeds, and hid in the crevices of the rocks which are found on the margin of this reſervoir of the world; but when

when the winds and tempeſt agitate its boſom, and drive it out upon the ſhores, then the foam rides upon its ſurface, extends itſelf over its face, and troubles its waters; or like the voracious ſhark which hides itſelf beneath the waves while health reigns on board a veſſel, but ſwims cloſe upon her heels, when the peſtilential ſmell which proceeds from her, informs its noſtrils that it ſhall ſoon have ſome prey to devour. Such are the populace, always ripe for the ſubverſion of order, always upon the watch for political ſtorms, and always attaching themſelves to him who raiſes them, in the ſole hope of coming in for ſome of the ſpoil. Neither blood, nor fire can drive them off; on the contrary they provoke theſe human ſcourges, living only in the heat of deſtruction. This vagabond tribe is always at the diſpoſal of him who employs them to commit the greateſt number of crimes. By them we have ſeen deſtroyed the ſuperb buildings of Reveillion in 1788, by them we have ſeen the barriers and the guard houſes ſet on fire in 1789, by them we have ſeen the magazines pillaged and deſtroyed in 1790, and 1791, and the aſylum of our monarch at Verſailles violated and imbrued with blood; by them, finally, we

have

have ſeen thoſe unhappy wretches, whom fear and enthuſiaſm had piled upon each other in the priſons of Paris, murdered in cool blood.

"This deſtructive maſs, inimical to all ſocial order, which is found in every nation, and againſt which ſufficient precautions have never been uſed, to diminiſh its number and put a ſtop to atrocities, had for many years been increaſing in the capital to an alarming height. If any little ſcuffle happened in the ſtreets, the diſputants were immediately ſurrounded by a crowd who, inſtead of making peace, provoked the quarrel, and endeavoured to foment a general tumult. When les Etats-Généraux were in debate, nobody talked louder than theſe vagabonds to whom all government was indifferent. Covered with rags they called themſelves a Tiers Etat; and with out-ſtretched hands, they exclaimed againſt all privileges, and complained of the burden of the taxes. The police, weak, and almoſt ſilent, durſt not proceed roughly againſt them, or aim at purging the capital of them. It was by the means of this portion of the populace that our revolution was effected; but what proves to me that they did not act for themſelves is, that inſtead of deſtroying Bicêtre, which was always

always full of people like themſelves, they pulled down the Baſtile, in which not one individual of the lower rank of people had ever been confined.

" In order to omit nothing in my picture of the ſtate of France, I muſt ſtill point out to you ſome ſtates in ſociety which, without being individually reckoned, nevertheleſs form diſtinct bodies, and of great influence too at the moment of the revolution.

" The firſt, and moſt numerous, were hired ſervants, from the valet de chambre to the groom, from the ſcullion to the femme de chambre, from the ſteward to the porter. It is well known, and our revolution has proved it beyond all doubt, that for one faithful ſervant, attached to his maſter, there were thouſands who betrayed, ſacrificed, and ruined their employers. And with whom lay the blame? with the maſter, who inſtead of keeping up the diſtance between himſelf and his ſervant, treated him with familiarity, let him into a knowledge of his weak ſide, confeſſed to him his paſſions, and obliged him to humour his temper and caprices. And what was the conſequence of this conduct? why the proving of the proverb, 'that no one is a great

man

man in the eyes of his valet de chambre.' The ſervant ſaw in his maſter only a man like himſelf, ſubject to the ſame vices, and only different from himſelf in poſſeſſing a little more knowledge, and having enjoyed a greater portion of the ſmiles of fortune. When the maſter made the ſervant feel his real ſituation, after having treated him with the utmoſt familiarity, the ſervant was chaffed, loſt the little attachment he had once entertained for his maſter, and looked forward only to a moment of revenge. The revolution furniſhed him with that moment; and we have ſeen how many maſters have been betrayed by their ſervants.

"Thoſe of the ſecond claſs I am going to deſcribe were almoſt all to be found in the capital, and were by no means a ſmall wound in the breaſt of the ſtate. It was compoſed of theſe men who have caſt aſide every feeling of nature. I here refer to that ſet of men who lived in idle, purſe-proud independence.

"Theſe uſeleſs beings deprived the ſtate of their induſtry, by living upon a ſum of money which they had ſunk; and may alſo be conſidered as wicked relations, becauſe by theſe means of increaſing their yearly income, they cut their

heirs

heirs out of a legacy to which they had a due claim. Have we not even ſeen the fathers of families ſufficiently unnatural to buy life annuities upon the whole of their property without giving a thought to the future days of their wives and children who might ſurvive them? Theſe men are alſo bad citizens, for they care for the proſperity of their country only as far as it relates to their ſecuring the payment of their rents. I wiſh that every man who ſells his property for a life annuity, if he is neither a baſtard, nor a foundling, was deprived of the rights of citizen.

"Theſe however were the men who raiſed the firſt cries of ſedition. Their eyes always wide open and fixed upon the operations of the finances, they were heard in the public gardens, and walks, thundering againſt Calonne and Lomenie. From what they ſaid, France ſunk under both theſe miniſters. They alone provoked the recalling of the borrower Necker. Without calculating that if taxes bring difficulties, borrowing makes a deficiency in the end, they ſaw only in the hardy Genevian, the man who took care that their annuities were regularly paid; for all the addreſs of this miniſter, was that of a phyſician called in to a man ſick paſt

hope

hope of recovery; not being able to ſave him by remedies, he endeavours to comfort him by palliatives. This was the ſkill of Necker.

"There was ſtill another body of men in France even more dangerous from the long perſecutions which they had undergone. Repreſſed under Francis I., under Henry II., under Charles IX., under Louis XIII., they were entirely cruſhed under Louis XIV. This body of men are they who during the reign of Louis XIII., had the courage to enact that famous ſtatute which transformed the French monarchy into ſeveral confederate republics; and declared that the catholic religion ought to be made extinct in the kingdom; you perceive that I am ſpeaking of the Calviniſtes. Encouraged by their antiroyaliſt doctrines, the deſcendants of the victims of St. Bartholomew, and the *dragoonades* *, wore in their hearts an implacable hatred to the throne of France †. From the time of Louis

* After the revocation of the edict of Nantz ſuch proteſtants as could not get out of the kingdom, had dragoons quartered upon them, who were encouraged to treat them ill in order to weary them into changing their religion; and theſe have ever ſince been called the *dragoonades*.

† Thoſe who wiſh to know what was the doctrine of Calvin may learn ſufficient of it from hearing what he ſaid, when he was ſpeaking of kings: "*Their inſolence is armed*

Louis XVI.'s aſcending the throne, ſupported by the maxims of the new philoſophy and the eaſy character of the monarch, they contrived to get him ſurrounded by their friends, who unceaſingly pleaded their cauſe to him, until an edict reſtored the civil privileges to their ſectaries.

" In order to arrive at this climax, conſider with how much art they proceeded. Fearful, if they abruptly made ſuch a demand to ſee their hopes entirely deſtroyed by it, they had the addreſs to take advantage of the indolence of Maurepas, to place near Louis miniſters of the new philoſophy.

" By their means, the œconomiſt Turgot*, the

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armed with a bloody ſcepter, and their power is only a ferocious licence: let them liſten, and tremble. (Biblic. Françaiſe, p. 173) To which may be added a few words ſpoken by Duroſier one of his miniſters: " *It is allowable to put out of the way a ſovereign who will not obey the reformed religion* " Boeſleius aſſertio. Scandalo. Refer beſides to Grotius, in animadv. Rivettii. Op. tom. v. Roberſton, tom. iii. The letter of Bongars to M. de Thon.

* Turgot is one of the moſt learned miniſters that France ever poſſeſſed. At twenty-three years of age, in a work called *Tableau des progrès de l'eſprit humain*, he predicted the independence of the Engliſh colonies. It is to him we owe our knowledge of the Erſe poetry; he tranſlated Oſſian; from the German he produced the Meſſiah; from the Italian the Death of Abel, and Paſtor Fido;

the tolerating Malſherbes*, the illuminated Saint Germain †, and laſtly the proteſtant Necker were got into the miniſtry.

"It

Fido; from the Greek the Iliad; and from the Hebrew, Solomon's Song.—His learned diſſertations enriched the foreign journals; when he became miniſter, he wanted to put in practice a ſyſtem of univerſal perfectability, and here was his ruin.

* This man, whoſe fate has been ſo much pitied, becauſe he concluded ſo tragically his career; was one of thoſe who uſed the moſt earneſt endeavours to throw into the minds of the people, and even of the king himſelf, the ſyſtem of the new philoſophy. His virtuous conduct, his moral life, his benevolence, his ſpirit of toleration, have all ſerved thoſe addicted to the new philoſophy as a ſhield to blunt the arrows of reproach ſhot at their doctrine. Were they upbraided with the pride and thirſt of gold that animated Voltaire; with the denaturaliſation and inſociability of Rouſſeau; the ſanguinary principles of Diderot, or the cries for ſedition of Raynal; they all anſwered; "look at Malſherbes, what can you reproach him with?" We will venture to declare, that they were ſolely the partizans of monarchy, thoſe very people who never ceaſed to bear an implacable hatred againſt this victim, who have moſt embittered the crime of the ſacrifice; and this merely from the deſign of throwing all the odium upon the new philoſophers; whilſt it was ſolely the action of a monſter who never knew any thing of new philoſophy but the latitude it allowed.

If Malſherbes had not peformed the generous action which will immortalize him, what would have been the fate reſerved for him? his name would have been loſt amidſt a crowd of the victims of the day, and more than one friend to the throne would have ſmiled at his death.

Like

"It was in vain that ſome attempted to make the king ſee the precipice up which they were leading

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Like all the philoſophers of the age, Malſherbes loſt himſelf by endeavouring to put into practice his philoſophical ſyſtem. Inſtead of amending, they all made things worſe; their failure aroſe from their wanting to make a wiſe people of one the moſt inconſequential; from their attempts to graft virtue upon vice. It has been ſaid a million times, that there muſt be a new people, the children of Cadmus, to eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem amongſt. If you attempt to repair the top of a houſe, whoſe foundations are rotten, you will pull down the whole fabric about your ears by the weight of the new materials that you load it with. The ſame was the inſtance in our revolution; inſtead of preparing the people to receive new ideas, you have raiſed them up againſt themſelves, you have made them pull down the only prop that ſupported them. And what is the reſult? Their own maſters, they give themſelves up to every kind of exceſs, and take away the lives of thoſe who lead them into error.

Malſherbes then is neither more blameable, nor more innocent than the reſt of the propagandiſts. United with them in faith, promulgating their doctrines, in ſhort working in concert with them to eſtabliſh their ſyſtem, he ought only to be diſtinguiſhed from the new philoſophers as being the moſt virtuous of them.

Thoſe of the new ſyſtem are indebted to him for the eaſe with which their writings were publiſhed, when he was at the head of the preſs. In ſhort, Malſherbes believed in perfectability, and talked only of producing liberty through the channel of learning and the arts.

† M. de Saint Germain was of all the miniſters of Louis XVI., the one who ſtruck moſt forcibly at the root of the throne by his ridiculous, and dangerous innovations

leading him, he paid no attention to them. I have myſelf read many memorials which were addreſſed

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and reforms. So much has been written about this man, that I think it is uſeleſs for me here to draw his portrait; I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with adding ſome particulars to what has already been ſaid. The wandering life of Saint Germain cauſed him when he firſt appeared in France to be looked upon as an extraordinary man, and the obſcurity of his origin procured him the name of the new Melchiſedeck; and he was ſaid to be of an extraordinarily great old age. But it was ſoon diſcovered in contradiction to theſe fables, that he was born at Salins in Franche-Comté, of a poor bourgeois family: at his outſet into life he was lieutenant in a battalion of militia; but a thirſt of glory made him paſs over into the ſervice of the elector Palatine, and next into that of the emperor Charles VI. thence to that of the elector of Bavaria, and laſtly to that of France; hence he was charged with a ſecret miſſion into Poland, where he changed his name, and cauſed himſelf to be called Catalagni, notwithſtanding he wrote himſelf Silva Mendoza.

I have read in ſome manuſcript notes of the Abbé de la Farre, that Saint Germain left Poland, high in the eſtimation of the reſpectable people there, in order to paſs over into Holland, being commiſſioned by the general, York, to make propoſals of peace; but without the knowledge of the miniſter of foreign affairs, and contrary to the wiſh of the Queen of Hungary, who entirely diſavowed all knowledge of ſuch a ſtep, in the papers of the day, from the moment of her becoming acquainted with what was paſſing. The Abbé de la Farre adds, that when he was diſcuſſing Saint Germain's project of peace, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1760, with the general Monnet, and Sinet, the firſt valet-de-chambre of the Dauphin, they all three found themſelves quite at a loſs to decide of what uſe it could be

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addreſſed to him, from the year 1787 to the opening of the ſtates; the moſt of which were terrifying,

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to make peace with England, without the concurrence of Pruſſia. It was leaving the Pruſſians to the mercy of the Emperor, ſince the intereſt of England, which was not bound down by any treaty, would lead her by no means to ſupport Pruſſia; and that this power, ſoon finding herſelf reduced for dependence only to her own forces, would ally herſelf with the empreſs, in order to make war upon France.

Saint Germain ſerved in the war of 1756, under the marſhal D'Eſtries and Richelieu. At the battle of Corbach, at which the marſhal de Broglie had the command, it was pretended that Saint Germain, who commanded the corps-de-reſerve, had been negligent in the execution of ſome part of his duty; and notwithſtanding the French returned victorious from the field, this accuſation was laid upon him. He felt himſelf hurt, and after having written the letter which follows, and regardleſs of the ſatisfactory anſwer of de Broglie, he retired to Aix-la-Chapelle, ſent in his reſignation, and red ribbon, and went over into the ſervice of Denmark.

Letter of M. le comte de Saint Germain, lieutenant-general of the king's army, to M. the duke de Broglie.

The firſt of July, 1760.

"I am going to do myſelf the honour of replying to your letter of the 28th, which I received on the 30th, about nine o'clock in the evening. I have hitherto done every thing that lay in my ability to execute with exactneſs your orders, and to accuſtom myſelf to the bitter, ironical, and contemptuous ſtyle which characterizes your letters. As to the firſt article it contains, I have nothing to reproach myſelf with, either on the part of my good-will, or

terrifying, from the evils which they announced. Upon ſome of theſe Louis XVI. was ſatisfied with writing

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my activity, and I am able to prove it to all the world. As to the ſecond, I muſt labour in vain, it is too hard for me, and I muſt fall under it, particularly as I have for a long time perceived your irony to be perſonal.

After this, ſir, I think it would be diſadvantageous to the ſervice to have a corps-de-reſerve that is under the command of a man who is odious to him who is general of the whole army; I accordingly have written to court to demand my diſcharge. If you would give me leave to retire, it would be a much quicker method, and things would be the better for it. Whilſt I am waiting for the orders of the court, or yours, I ſhall act to the beſt of my ability in my ſituation, without requiring to be ſpurred on to my duty; I ſhall never have the power of performing impoſſibilities, whatever deſire I may have proſperouſly to ſerve my king, and to contribute to your ſucceſs."

Anſwer of M. the marſhal de Broglie to the foregoing letter.

"I have received, ſir, by the poſt, the letters which you did me the honour to write to me on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of laſt month; and my courier put into my hands, yeſterday, that of the 1ſt of July, to which there is a poſtſcript of the 2d. As the circumſtances are entirely changed ſince the three firſt letters were written, it would be totally uſeleſs to enter into any detail upon their contents. In regard to the laſt, I was not leſs ſurprized, than hurt upon its receipt; I have read over with attention all my correſpondence with you, particularly my letter of the 28th, to which this is the anſwer. I can find in it only expreſſions marking out to you the eſteem I feel for you, and according with thoſe ſentiments of you, of which I have

writing in the margin, the name of thoſe who had preſented them to him, and put them on one

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have always made public profeſſion. I can cite a witneſs of the firſt reſpectability, whom you will perceive I ſhould not dare to name, unleſs my ſtatement was truly exact; it is monſeigneur the Dauphin, who cannot have forgotten, that in his cabinet, in the preſence of M. le duc de Choiſeul, after I had for a long time refuſed to accept the command of the army, to which I felt myſelf unequal, I named you to the prince, as one of thoſe whom I judged adequate to the bearing of ſuch a burden; I expreſſed myſelf to the ſame effect to M. le maréchal de Belleiſle, to M. the duke of Choiſeul, to M. the prince of Soubiſe, and to Madame de Pompadour; I have ſaid the ſame to all the world, and thus far I cannot be accuſed of having belied my feelings. All the letters which I have had the honour of writing to you, are laid before the court; and I am not at all afraid that they ſhould find in them any thing ſimilar to what you have imagined yourſelf to read in them. My conduct towards you has always been ſo open and honourable, that I defy you not to do me juſtice when the clouds which are hanging over you are diſperſed. I am quite ignorant what anſwer the king and his council will make to your demand of a diſcharge; but I certainly ſhall not give you my leave to foreſtall the anſwer. I ſhould think myſelf to be ill-treating his majeſty, were I to deprive him of an officer, like yourſelf; and it will always be my aim to keep you, if poſſible, in his ſervice, &c. &c."

The reſtleſs ſpirit of Saint Germain cauſed him to quit Denmark; and he came back into France, where he lived retired and unknown, in a village near Beſançon. It is ſaid that the marſhal de Muy, before his death, propoſed him to the king as his ſucceſſor. The reſt of his hiſtory is well known.

ſide without appearing to make any account of them.

"It is well known that many Calviniſts had come back into France ſince the time of their expulſion, either by means of a particular leave which was granted them, or by means of hiding their faith. They were ſcattered throughout the kingdom, and particularly in the large towns, where population was a great ſafeguard to them; and while each appeared an unconnected individual they all knew one another, and correſponded together. The moment that the benevolent edict reſtored the civil privileges to them in France, they ſhewed themſelves publickly, and their number occaſioned ſurprize. I ſhall not enter into a detail of their conduct at the time of the revolution; it requires not to be ſaid that they were its warmeſt partizans.

"And now I muſt aſk you, after having taken this rapid and imperfect view of the ſituation of men's minds in the different ſtates of ſociety, whether the rapidity with which our revolution was effected can produce any aſtoniſhment?

"Like a chain of paralyticks, who ſeek a cure in electricity, impatiently waiting the rapid ſpark, and believing at the moment when they are ſtruck,

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that they feel better, whilſt they are only ſtunned by the violence of an improper conductor; thus the French nation embraced with avidity the change which preſented itſelf in the firm perſuaſion that ſhe was about to enjoy a great good which was offering to her under the moſt enchanting colours. She placed her confidence in a few ambitious men, who led her aſtray, and then abandoned her to the power of raſcals. May one of thoſe rare geniuſes of whom nature is ſo covetous, ſoon ſtart up to ſave her from falling down the precipice on which ſhe ſtands!

"Let us enter into ſome few details. From the time of Sully, the finances of France had been in a tottering ſtate. Louis XIV. gave them a blow from which they never recovered. The genius of Colbert even was inſufficient to ſupply the expences of that monarch. It excites ſurprize even at this day to think of the incalculable ſums which were required for the wars and buildings which rendered that reign immortal: Verſailles alone conſumed the revenue of half a century. Nothing can more ſtrongly prove the embarraſſed ſtate of the finances, than the number of men who were called to the helm to direct them. Without giving a liſt of their names, I

aſk you only to remark that ſince the time of Colbert, not one man died in this office, but M. Cluny. This proves to me, that in this buſineſs, they only ſelected men who had the ability of finding ways and means for the moment, and that for two reigns there had appeared no miniſter who really underſtood the ſyſtem of finance. All the men who filled this ſituation were treated juſt like lemons which are thrown away after we have nipped out the juice. And what have thoſe done who have filled this place at later dates? More occupied with their ideas of the new philoſophy, than of the regulation of the finance, Turgot attempted in vain to aboliſh the ſacredneſs of kings; Brienne gave civil rights to the proteſtants; Calonne attacked the privileges of the firſt ranks, and pointed out his nullity and that of the monarch, by calling in the *Notables* to his aid *.

Laſtly,

* The following is a letter from Miroménil to the king, which proves what I ſay of Calonne:

Miroménil to the king, the 5th April, 1787.

Extract: on the right ſide of the ſecond leaf you may read this paſſage.

"I confeſs to you, ſire, that I am afraid, above all, after what has happened within the laſt eight days, after my converſation of laſt Monday evening with M. de Calonne, of which I gave you an account, that he will not allow you to diſmiſs the aſſembly of Les Notables, without coming to any

concluſion,

Laſtly, Necker humbled the great by his reforms, and, aiming ſtrait forward at a climax, converted the ſyſtems of the new philoſophers into a public opinion. It is needleſs, after this ſhort view, to enter into any explanations to prove the ill-adminiſtration of the finance. I ſhall however give one ſingle inſtance. In 1780, during the American war, and during the firſt miniſtry of Necker, the king was much diſtreſſed to ſupport the expences of the times; the aſſiſtance which he gave to the Americans, both in money, and ammunition, and the ſupport of his fleet, had drained the coffers of the ſtate, and there was no viſible reſource for upholding them. At this juncture, to preſerve the honour of an individual, and in order not to expoſe the eldeſt of his brothers, the king commanded twenty millions of money to be paid to M. de Saint James. Your are going to aſk me what all this means? I muſt own to you,

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concluſion, and perhaps without giving him time to lay before you his laſt obſervations. I ſee that he is aiming at ſetting you againſt the biſhops, the nobles, the magiſtrates, and your miniſters. He makes a kind of appeal to the people, which may have the moſt dangerous effect. In ſhort, I foreſee conſequences which alarm me for your happineſs, and the ſafety of your future reign, &c."

Note —Copied from the original, taken from a portfolio, intitled *Letters to Louis XVI.*

that

that I know very little about it; all that I am able to tell you is, that Saint James was attached to Monſieur, that he had been allowed to draw upon the ſtate for four millions in bills of exchange, and that abuſing the liberty which was granted him, he drew for twenty millions, which the king ordered to be paid in the moſt ſecret manner poſſible. This fact appears ſo extraordinary, that it wants proofs to gain it belief. Read a paſſage of a letter of the king's to Maurepas, and you will find it." I then drew a copy of the letter from my pocket, and read to the Engliſhman and the commiſſary what follows:

"Extract from a letter of the king to M. de Maurepas:

"*Choiſy*, 3d *October*, 1780.

"You have doubtleſs ſeen M. Necker ſince I have; he will have given you an account of our converſation, but I wiſh to tranſmit it to you myſelf. He ſpoke of the embarraſſment into which he was thrown by the twenty millions, payable at ſhort dates, to M. Saint-James; that it was with much difficulty he had procured the payment of ſix millions the week before."

L. B.—"And did not your king, ſo great an œconomiſt, ſo upright a man, cauſe Saint James

to

to be puniſhed?" "Perhaps he was afraid of expoſing Monſieur. But, as to that, had he cauſed every gentleman who was deficient in honeſty to have been puniſhed, the Baſtile would never have been ſufficiently large to have held the Baron D'Entrechaux, the count and viſcount of Gamacher, and of Rochechouard; with Frenville, Genlis, Fénélon, Palun, &c. &c. &c. and the reſt of the Notables who paid their creditors with crabſticks. He was ſatisfied with letting the weight of his juſtice fall upon the Guémenée, upon them alſo he had mercy in a very ſhort time."—"When I firſt heard of their diſaſter, I thought that they had experienced ſome bad fortune in trade, ſince they announced a bankruptcy, which word only belongs to commerce."—"It was uſed to conceal in ſome meaſure the atrocity of their conduct."—"It was in ſuffering all theſe crimes to go unpuniſhed that Louis XVI. loſt himſelf."—"Very true; indeed, on his firſt mounting the throne he diſplayed a degree of firmneſs of character, which cauſed good augurations to be pronounced upon him. He began by declaring himſelf an enemy to all reverſions of places. When the duke of Fronſac aſked him to let his ſon ſucceed him in his office, he refuſed it, ſaying

that his ſon was a man of too bad a character. He refuſed in like manner to M. de Caſtries, the reverſion of the colonelſhip in the French guards, filled by Biron. But he ſoon relaxed of his ſeverity. His character was known; they were well aware that upon any unjuſt or inconſiderate requeſt being made to him, his manner was at firſt repellant and forbidding: this was what Maurepas merely called, an introductory growl *, which ſoon became a phraſe at court; the way was not to anſwer him; and in a very ſhort time any requeſt was granted, ſometimes even the moſt unjuſt grants, under the moſt odious denominations; of which the following is an example:

"The ſteady and well regulated life of Louis XVI. had made him look with contempt upon thoſe libertines of the court, who honoured themſelves with the infamous title of (*les roués*), the debauchées. Well, can you believe that a king, whoſe conduct was thus marked by propriety, ſhould conſult with Maurepas, whether or not he ſhould give the adminiſtration of the finances to one of theſe men?"—"That indeed appears to me a ſtrong inſtance."—"Give me leave a moment;—the ſtate of the finances could not be more em-

* *Son premier coup de boutoir.*

barraſſed

barraſſed than it was in 1780; Necker, who had the adminiſtration of it, ſaw no reſource beyond the ſucceeding year.

"The American war, into which a falſe policy had drawn us, had drained off every ſupply. The fleet alone loſt in 1779 a hundred and eighty millions."—"I muſt interrupt you for a moment; do you know what this war, which brought us ſo very low, ſtood us in?"—"No, I do not."—"From the year 1776 to 1782 England ſpent two thouſand, two hundred and ſeventy millions and a half."

"That is more than we did; it coſt us from 1778 to 1782, ſix hundred and ninety-one millions, nine hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand, three hundred and forty livres, merely for the maintenance of the fleet; and for the army five hundred and thirty-one millions, ſix hundred and fifty-one thouſand, five hundred and eighteen livres."—"That is nearly one half leſs, without reckoning the loſs of ſome of our moſt valuable poſſeſſions."—"Your cabinet in St. James's has ample vengeance at this time!"—"Do not let us talk upon that ſubject, leaſt our national character ſhould bring on a diſcuſſion between us, which might end in a quarrel."—"That would give me great pain.

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"Let me go on with telling you then that the embarraſſment of our finances made Necker afraid of loſing his popularity. In order to avoid this diſgrace, he reſolved to aſk for his diſcharge. But before this, he requeſted a private audience of the king. After having painted to him in the ſtrongeſt colours, our critical ſituation, and having told him that he did not ſee the means of providing any further reſources, he added that perhaps, a new man in the ſituation, in ſhort, one of Les Roués might hit upon ſome violent and hitherto unheard of means, for raiſing a ſupply, which might for a ſhort time give a fictitious credit, and ſupport the ſtate machine." —"What! did not the king, upon this propoſition from Necker, order him to be thrown out of the window, or at leaſt have him carried to priſon?"—"Far the contrary, the king entered into all the details of the miniſter, and beſought him not to quit his place. The miniſter even ventured to aſk the diſcharge of Sartines, whom he diſliked, and for the ſituation to be given to Caſtries, who was his friend; and upon this condition only, he promiſed not to reſign. Look back to that epoch, and you will ſee that theſe conditions were all fulfilled. The king diſcharg-

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ed Sartines, whom he reſpected for his honeſty, and named as his ſucceſſor Caſtries, whom he did not like, becauſe he ſaw him too much engaged with women."

"Give me leave, ſir, to mention to you, one thing that ſtrikes me: you have ſaid that all this paſſed in a private conference between Louis XVI. and Necker; how then did you learn what paſſed? If it came to you from the miniſter himſelf, I cannot believe it true, his bragging of it ſeems to ſay it is not."—"I will give you reaſon to believe this curious anecdote; Louis XVI. never came to any abſolute concluſion without conſulting Maurepas, whom flattery has ſo improperly named the Neſtor of France. This old Mentor was at that time laid up with the gout in the country. The king wrote to him a full account of his converſation with the Genevian; and after the death of Maurepas, his widow returned to the king his correſpondence with her huſband, which after the 10th of Auguſt was found in the palace of the Tuileries. If you have ſtill any doubts, I can procure you a ſight of the letter itſelf."—"I accept your offer; this particular fact is ſo principal a colour in painting the character of the king and the miniſter, that nothing ought to be neglected

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that can prove its authencity. But are you certain that the king himſelf wrote the word *Roué?*" "Very certain."—"It is an incomprehenſible piece of buſineſs."

My two auditors ſeemed thunder-ſtruck; abſorbed in their reflections; I believe they would not have broken ſilence the whole morning, had not I addreſſed them. "Well gentlemen," ſaid I, "what do you think of what you have heard?" The commiſſary ſpoke firſt, and ſaid, "I do not know whether I ought to be moſt ſurprized at the effrontery of the miniſter's propoſals, or the paſſiveneſs with which the king liſtened to them, and aſked advice, whether to to accept or reject them?"—"And for my part," ſaid my lord, "I can only wonder at the aſſurance of the Genevian: as for the monarch, that letter ſhews me ſo completely his inability to govern, that I can no longer be ſurprized at the falſe ſteps that led to his ruin. Thus we muſt only, in my opinion, accuſe deſtiny, which fated him to fill an office to which he was ſo very unequal; of all the ſituations which form part of ſocial order, that in which he ſtood became him the leaſt." "Stop there, I beg of you; in our progreſs over this palace we ſhall have many oppor-

tunities

tunities of knowing him better; but," added I, addreſſing the commiſſary, "is it now time to purſue our viſit?"—"I am at your diſpoſal," replied the commiſſary.

At this moment a perſon came in who whiſpered the commiſſary, and he ſaid to us: "I beg your pardon, my duty calls me away for a few minutes, I will very ſoon come back to you;" and he went out haſtily. Lord Bedfort then turning to me ſaid, "let us meanwhile talk of that aſtoniſhing miniſter, who has ſo often been run down, and upheld in the moſt exaggerated manner; who enjoyed, as I may ſay, rather the favour of the people than a good fame; who has made ſo great a noiſe in the world, and who will conſtitute an epoch in your hiſtory."—"With all my heart, for I can tell you ſome particulars of him, which are but little known, and which I think will ſerve you to form your eſtimate of him by.

"I ſhall not enter into any detail, upon the manner in which Necker roſe; for you without doubt know, that he was originally a clerk in the banking-houſe of Teluſſon, who ultimately gave him a ſhare in his bank. This was his firſt ſtep towards fortune; his enemies accuſe him of hav-

ing made his firſt advances towards her ſhrine, by means of ſome uſurious profits which he gained under the fatal adminiſtration of Ferrai. The ſimplicity of his manners, his application to ſtudy, added to a modeſt appearance, gained him the friendſhip of Pezay, who was extremely intimate with Maurepas. Pezay introduced him to this pretended Neſtor, who was charmed with his projects. What dazzled Maurepas was his propoſal of re-eſtabliſhing the finance without having recourſe to taxes. 'This is ſuch a man as you want,' ſaid this Mentor to the young monarch; and immediately Necker held a place in the miniſtry.

"In a ſhort time Necker put away his cotemporary Taboureau, and was ſole adminiſtrator of the finances. According to his promiſe he did not impoſe a ſingle tax upon the ſtate, but ſupported it by loans. The populace, little given to reflect, praiſed him to the ſkies: had they but coolly conſidered this dangerous method, they muſt have ſeen, that though taxes bring with them inconveniences, ſtill loans produce an ultimate deficiency, and that it is better to ſuffer for a while with the expectation of doing well in view, than to be at eaſe for the pre at moment, with

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the certainty of being much worſe off in the end. In order to render himſelf popular, he conducted himſelf without the ſmalleſt degree of pride, affected the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs, talked of bettering the ſtate of the hoſpitals, of entirely doing away beggary, perſecuted the farmer generals, took off the taxes, and made reforms in the finance.

"But if on one ſide he heard his praiſe ſounded, on the other he ſaw his projects and his conduct called in queſtion. The financiers and the clergy were particularly troubleſome to him; Caraccioli, Laurajais, Panchet, and Bourgade publiſhed pamphlets about him, which tore the maſk from his ambitious character. Some pointed him out as a ſimple calculater entirely without ideas; others as a vindictive proteſtant, unworthy of the miniſtry, and incapable, by our laws, of holding a place, which was to be taken only by means of an oath that could be adminiſtered to a Roman-catholic alone. After having been toſſed about for more than four years between praiſe and blame, he quitted the miniſtry, after having run the kingdom 460 millions into debt, and left, according to his own account, an apple of diſcord in the middle of the ſtate.

"It was ſaid at the time that Louis XVI. was ſo convinced of his deceit, that he had ſworn he would never ſuffer him to remain in France, and had ordered him to quit the country. How comes it then, that he not only lived in the neighbourhood of Paris, but that he even was re-admitted into the miniſtry?

"This was one of the effects of the king's good, but unſtable diſpoſition. All that I know more about it, is this. You muſt remember that in the letter the contents of which I have juſt communicated to you, Necker propoſed to the king, to call M. de Caſtries to the miniſtry, aſſuring him that they were bound by the ſtricteſt friendſhip to each other."—"How then?"—"Why M. de Caſtries returned the ſame piece of ſervice to the diſgraced miniſter. He was conſtantly telling the king how much Necker ſuffered from having had the misfortune of diſpleaſing him. Taking advantage of the declining health of the miniſter's wife, he wrote to the king, ſaying that the unſkilfulneſs of the phyſicians in his country, obliged M. Necker to bring his wife to the neighbourhood of Paris for advice. And ſo well did he plead his cauſe, that the king replied to it exactly in the following words: "I allow

M. Necker

M. Necker to come into the neighbourhood of Paris, on account of the ill health of Madame Necker, on condition that he does not come into Paris, and ſees but few viſitors. Farther, you cannot but remember, that for two years paſt I have poſitively declared to you, that neither M. Necker, nor any of his friends need entertain any idea of his again coming into place. He very well knows that laſt winter I felt myſelf extremely diſpleaſed by the noiſe which was made by his book upon his return home, and the change of the miniſtry. If any thing of the like nature ſhould ever occur again, I ſhall inſtantly remand him back to his own country, and he ſhall never ſet his foot into France again. Finally, if he and his friends do not ſet the world talking about him, he may depend upon living undiſturbed."

——" But by what means do you know this anſwer of the king's to M. de Caſtries?"—" From the king himſelf."—" You ſurpriſe me, I did not know, that you had been a courtier!"—" Indeed I never was; and what will ſurpriſe you much more, and appear to you a contradiction is, that I ſhall confeſs to you I never had the honour of ſpeaking to Louis XVI."—" Explain yourſelf."—" I will; either from a love of

order, or a defective memory Louis XVI. never omitted to make copies of all the letters he wrote, even upon the moſt indifferent ſubjects. If he returned a verbal anſwer to any note, or letter which he received, he put down on the margin the anſwer he ſent. What I have juſt been repeating to you was written upon the top of the letter which M. de Caſtries had ſent to him on the nineteenth of May 1785. I ſaw the letter and the anſwer; and this explains the enigma. I have not repeated the letter to you becauſe it contains nothing of conſequence. Without telling him exactly the ſpot where M. Necker meant to fix his abode, he only ſaid, that he had been to look at two different places in the country, the one ten leagues from Paris, the other ſix."

"Do you believe, Sir, that his wife's ill health was the only motive which brought M. Necker into the neighbourhood of Paris? In my opinion, he took advantage of this circumſtance to ſet a ſtep, to which his own ambition, the hopes of his friends, and the weakneſs of the monarch had long been prompting him. Recollect the diſtreſſed ſituation of your finances at that time, and the little confidence which was placed in the man who had the adminiſtra-

tion

tion of them."—"I will carry my ſuppoſition even farther than yours; it is not at all clear to me that M. Necker did not foreſee a change in the government coming on; his intimacy with many of the propagandiſts leads me into this idea; and were it not for his writings in favour of Louis XVI. when he was on the point of ſuffering, I ſhould readily believe him of the ſect of the Illuminées whoſe principles you are doubtleſs acquainted with."—"Indeed there ſeem to be many circumſtances in favour of the ſuppoſition; but what was his conduct ſo near the court?"—"Whilſt he appeared a tranquil ſpectator of the embarraſſed ſtate of the finances, he was ſecretly endeavouring to awaken the enthuſiaſm which had followed him to his retreat, and awaiting a favourable time to profit by it; and he eagerly ſeized upon that moment, when Calonne, exclaimed againſt his adminiſtration, whilſt laying before the chiefs of Les Notables, the ſituation of our finances.

"He wrote to the miniſter to complain, 'that he had ſpoken of him in a manner by which he had endeavoured to make him loſe his reputation, and the eſteem of the people and the king; he defied him to point out in his account returned

in the year 1781, the errors which he had ſaid were to be found in it, particularly that he had made a miſtake of fifty or ſixty milliions *.' Calonne replied in an evaſive manner to this letter †. and ſome days after addreſſed to him a copy of his ſpeech, and a note containing amongſt others theſe words; 'that in regard to the deficiency before his time, he had only ſaid what he had been obliged to ſay, and that he had made no mention of the account he had returned ‡.' Necker ſtung to the quick by this irony, only replied verbally; 'that he thought it became him not to make any reply to a note in which M. de Calonne, amuſed himſelf with the bitter game of addreſſing his ſpeech to the very man whom he had ſo deeply wounded, and where he made an ironical merit of not having ſpoken the words, *account returned*, whilſt throughout his his ſpeech he had taken every means in his power of alluding to it.'

"At the very ſame time that Necker was carrying on a paper war with Calonne, he was making complaints to the king of the conduct of his rival.

* A letter of the 29th January 1787.
† Idem of the 30th of the ſame month.
‡ A note of the 28th of the following February.

In

In his firſt letter to the king, after having recounted his grievances much to the ſame effect as you have already heard, he requeſted permiſſion to prove to Calonne, in the preſence of the king, that his account of 1781, was exact *. Louis XVI. refuſed this requeſt, conjecturing that its aim was as much to form himſelf a party from the people, as to exculpate himſelf. The ex-miniſter was not diſheartened by this refuſal; he wrote again to the monarch, and ſent him a copy of his correſpendence with Calonne †. But ſo far from gaining any thing by it, he only received an order to keep himſelf quiet. I have read all this correſpondence with great attention. Necker ſhews himſelf in it ſometimes proud, ſometimes cringing, but never great. Calonne on the contrary lets the venom of his diſpoſition appear through all his fineſſe, and ſhuffles off an explanation. Theſe, Sir, are all the particulars which I have gathered concerning this man; you are well acquainted with his conduct ſince that time."

—" As is all the world,—but here comes the commiſſary who is I dare ſay going to make an

* Letter of the 6th of March 1787.

† Letter of the 9th of April following.

apology,

apology."—" Pardon me, gentlemen, I am prevented the pleaſure of conducting you over the ruins, ſome particular buſineſs calls me away; have the goodneſs to put off your viſit till to-morrow."—" Although it may be intruding much on your complaiſance, my curioſity will not allow me to ſuffer you to depart from your word," ſaid Lord Bedfort.—" To-morrow then at the ſame hour, I will meet you," replied the commiſſary.

I left the palace with the Engliſhman; " let us ſtop in this court," ſaid he, " although I have already examined it, I am afraid of any thing having eſcaped me." We walked along it; my lord appeared as if he were counting ſomething; at laſt he ſtopped, and turning to me, ſaid, " I dare ſay you do not know how many cannon balls ſtruck the palace walls?"——" Very true, indeed I do not."—" Sixteen only were driven back by the thickneſs of the walls; this obſervation will appear to you very minute upon the firſt conſideration, but it carries with it a reflection."—" I cannot gueſs it."—" It was ſaid that the people who attacked the palace on the tenth of Auguſt, raiſed a dreadful fire of muſketry, and cannon. As to the number of muſket ſhots

which

which were fired at it, I can ſay nothing; but the cannon balls diſcharged at it, could by no means be ſo many as were ſaid, otherwiſe we ſhould be able to count more of their indentures upon the walls; for your bourgeois cannoniers muſt have poſſeſſed very great ſkill indeed to have ſtruck all their blows at the windows and doors. For my part, I believe the irruption to have been ſo ſudden, that they had but a very ſhort time for their cannonade."——"I ſaw this event from a ſufficiently near ſituation to be well acquainted with its particulars; at the firſt aſſembling of the people, I got upon the roof of that houſe at the corner of the *rue Carrouſel*, where I happened to lodge, and ſcreened by thoſe two chimnies which you ſee from hence, I had the reſolution to ſtay there till four o'clock in the afternoon; I then came down, and went into the field of combat, and this was the ſcene which preſented itſelf to my view: the quays, the ſtreets, preſented an immenſe concourſe of victorious ſoldiers, armed with pikes from the points of which waved in the air the bloody pillage of the Swiſs guards; I came into the Tuileries by the gate of the Pont Royal; I looked round me, I ſaw the walls of the palace ſhot through

through and through with muſket balls; I heard on all ſides the rattling of the windows that they were breaking; and the clattering of the pots and pans which they were knocking into pieces in the kitchen. The fire-irons, the jacks, the baking pans, and the billets of wood were all thrown up into the air; every body ſeized whatever he could lay hold of; from the end of a long pole hung a carp almoſt as fat as the coalman who was running away with it; a barber had got hold of a ſpit full of chickens, and with this trophy of victory on his ſhoulder, he marched away with all the pride of a conqueror. Through the gratings of the cellar windows, I ſaw a thouſand hands grubbing into the ſaw duſt, and pulling out bottles of famous wine, which corn-porters were for the firſt time taſting. Every where they were drinking, every where they were laughing; the royal wine was running about the pavement and floors of the palace, and mixing itſelf with the blood of the victims; their mutilated corpſes were lying ſcattered about the terrace, and the avenues of the garden; and in the midſt of the croud of ſpectators, the women preſſed forward to the ſight with

with the greateſt degree of curioſity, and went away the laſt.

"The veſtibule was ſwimming with blood; ſtill it was ſmoaking; its ſtench ſuffocated me; my hair ſtood on end; I haſtily ran up the ſteps, and entered the chapel; what a ſpectacle did it preſent! what an entire change! Dead bodies horridly disfigured, and already the prey of a million of buzzing flies; the carpets torn to pieces, the pictures run through with the blades of pikes; the deſks and violins of the muſicians overturned and thrown upon the altar; the organ diſmounted! my eyes reſted a moment on one of thoſe men, who poſſeſs the art of ſhowing themſelves happy and jocoſe in the midſt of the moſt dreadful events. He was ſtanding in the gallery, in the attitude of the angel blowing the laſt trump. Puffing at the ſame moment into pipes of unequal ſizes, he provoked the involuntary laugh of thoſe who had tears in their eyes. I ran away from this dreadful ſcene of carnage. The croud had ſtopped unwilling to walk in the blood which was running down the ſtairs; the walls on all ſides were ſtained with it.

"I ruſhed

"I ruſhed through the midſt of ſabres, pikes, and ſcythes, into the firſt ſaloon that preſented itſelf. A thick cloud of duſt and the waving plumes of the ſoldiery intercepted my view. The people were running backwards and forwards on all ſides. Dreadful ſhrieks and exclamations, a vaſt and continual murmur were heard by turns in every apartment. There were matraſſes enough ſcattered about to lodge an army upon. They were trodden under foot with the ſhutters, the tables, the ſcreens, and the gilt ſtools.

"In one place they were breaking open the doors of cloſets, where they found treaſures concealed, and cheſts in which things of ſtill greater value had been ſtored; and theſe the ragged citizens went and placed in the aſſembly.

"The ſtate-bed is ſtill in its place, defying as it were by its richneſs the eye of the poor; they look at it with diſdain, and there is not one of them who does not turn from it ſaying, 'I ſleep more tranquil on my bed of ſtraw.'

"They were walking over the fragments of thouſands of china vaſes; ſets of tea-china painted in bright and beautiful colours were rolling about the floor, amongſt golden candleſticks,

ſticks, &c. I ſaw large mirrors broken to pieces, and ſome young girls dividing amongſt them the moſt perfect pieces.

"The luſtres, the paintings on the ceilings, the pictures of Le Brun, and Paul Veroneze were paid reſpect to. I obſerved the glaſs of the dial plate of a beautiful clock which was run through with a pike.

"They ſpared alſo the ſumptuous curtains, ſhining with gold, which ornamented the windows. The people ſee with contempt the ſad and undeniable proofs of their miſery.

"Every thing was turned into confuſion in the council-chamber; in the billiard-room was the ſame diſorder; the gallery looked like a field of plunder, there was nothing in it but ſome ſtraw couches, and ſome ungirt flock beds.

"In the leſſer apartments the croud was greater. Anxiety was depicted on every countenance. What a number of obſervers or rather ſcrutinizers were endeavouring to find ſome traces of the perfidy of the miniſters! There was nothing which was not examined; no ſpot but what was viſited.

"What a ſcene of pillage was the dining-room! one was eating the confectionary with

his miſtreſs, another handing about napkins, and pouring out wine. The table-cloths torn to pieces, the drawers of the bufets throwing about from one to another; not a foot could be ſet without kicking againſt a broken bottle.

"The entrance to the queen's apartments was blocked up with dead bodies wrapped in blankets; except the hangings, the chairs, the ſophas, and the bed, every thing had been made off with. Every glaſs was cracked, nay reduced to ſand. What a number of women were pulling about her wardrobe! what a number of caps, elegant hats, red petticoats, white petticoats, and blue petticoats were flying about the chamber! Every chord of the piano-forte was ſnapped; and a buſt of the Prince Royal rolling about the room.

"The chambers of the lacqueys, and the foot boys, were ſwimming with lavender water; they were breaking their china; playing tricks with the ſyringes of les maitres-d'hotel; ſtealing their wine, their wax candles, their linen, and their laced cloaths.

"It was near five o'clock when all theſe things were happening; I would not wait for the night which without doubt was more favourable to pillage. I went down by the ſtairs

of

of the pavilion of Flora, where I ſaw at every ſtep drunken men ſleeping by the ſide of dead bodies.

"At this inſtant a cloud of waving plumes darkened the air in the court du Carrouſel. The guard houſes at the four corners were on fire. I ruſhed through the midſt of the populace, and had the good fortune to arrive ſafe and ſound at my own lodgings; but I could not forbear both heaving a ſigh, and ſhedding a tear to the victims ſacrificed that day.

"Such is the abridgment of the picture at once ſingular and repellant which this palace preſented to the eye, immediately after the victory. For an account of the attack and ſtorming, you muſt have had ſufficient information in the newſpapers of the day. I ſhall notwithſtanding have a true pleaſure in communicating to you ſome particulars which are little known. Will you do me the honour to go with me to my lodgings, and take a batchelor's dinner? there I will at leaſt feed your curioſity."—"With all my heart."—And ſo ended our ſecond day.

CHAP. VI.

VISIT TO THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.

THIRD DAY.

Diſturbance produced in the Coffee Houſe of de Foi by an Agent of Orleans.—Portrait of this Man.—Viſit to the Ground Floor of the Palace, on the Side of the Court.—Rencontre with the Miniſter Rolland; his Fears.—Private Anecdotes of this Miniſter.—Amours of his Wife.—Means employed by her to keep him out of her Way.—The Wine of the Emigrants drunk by the Miniſters.—Pillage of the Palace by the Members of the Commune.—Manner of emptying the Secretaries.—Diſcovery of the gilt Service of Plate uſed in the King's Chapel;—Place where it was concealed.—Political and amorous Correſpondence between a Lady of the Court and a Biſhop.—Hiſtorical Anecdotes.

THE place of meeting which we had fixed upon at parting, was the coffee-houſe of de Foi. Upon going in I found my lord in the midſt of a circle who appeared diſſatisfied with what he had juſt been ſaying. I enquired. "He is an Engliſhman, a ſpy from Pitt," ſaid they, "who comes here to find fault with our revolution; and we are reſolved as ſoon as he leaves this place to take him to the committee of general ſafety."—"I will be bound for it," replied I, "that not one of you is ſo

good

good a friend to liberty as he is; I know him." This aſſertion drew every eye upon me, they examined me from head to foot, and turned me round and round. The Engliſhman, from whom the croud had now given way a little, ſaw me, and came up to me. We managed to get to a table, and to ſit down.

Scarcely had we ſpoken to each other, before we heard one of the lookers-on exclaim with the voice of a Stentor; "I have for a long time been telling you that there were agents of Pitt's and Coburg's in Paris, whoſe end is to excite counter-revolutionary motions; theſe two men are ſome of them, one is an Engliſhman the other an Auſtrian, I have known them, and dodged them for a long time; let us carry them before the committee." A murmur of aſſent followed theſe words, and I began to feel certainly very uneaſy; when I heard this ſentence ſpoken at the other end of the room: "Do not liſten to that impoſtor; I know theſe two men very well, and I will anſwer for them. Has not M. le Marquis de Saint-Huruge been ſufficiently long the bane of tranquillity not to be better known? In order to make himſelf believed a patriot, he exclaims againſt every body; in order that he

may be talked of, his voice is always louder than other people's; and his uniform end in all this is, to obtain ſome place of importance; but he is too well known: as to theſe two gentlemen I will anſwer for them. The one is a Frenchman, and a Pariſian; the other an Engliſhman, and one of the firmeſt members of the oppoſition; if any one here doubts what I ſay, let him follow me with theſe two gentlemen." "No, no," was the general cry; "as long as you anſwer for them we are ſatisfied;" then turning towards Saint-Hurage, they all called out, "Leave this place you quarrelſome fool, and let us never ſee you here again. Go into the garden, and get caned, or go and make yourſelf even with thoſe who have already caned you." The poor devil did not wait to have this ſentence repeated, but left the room amidſt the houts of thoſe who had been applauding him a minute before.

And who was the man who had ſo ſuddenly changed the opinion of theſe coffee-houſe chatterers? Why no other than our complaiſant commiſſary, who came up to us, and ſat down at our table. The Engliſhman was going to thank him, but he interrupted him by aſking him if we had breakfaſted? Underſtanding that we had

had not, he gave orders to the waiter. Whilſt we were at breakfaſt he ſaid to the Engliſhman, "What has juſt happened makes me bluſh for my country; theſe are the abuſes to which a revolution gives birth. Fools and ill-diſpoſed people, are on ſuch occaſions always very buſy, cloaking up the licenſe which they unwarrantably allow themſelves in the name of liberty, and thus procure it to be deſpiſed by their very exceſſes. Would you attempt to reaſon with them, they will bear no contradiction, fly into a paſſion, and by their audacious repreſentation of things make you appear a bad citizen. This is one of the evils of the revolution. I will now point out to you another of a much more dangerous nature; that is, the abuſe which is made of equality. Thoſe kind of people whom you have juſt heard holding forth, are conſtantly telling the very loweſt claſs of the populace, that they have juſt as much right to fill places of ſcience, as thoſe who have paſſed two thirds of their lives in gaining inſtruction; and theſe falſe leſſons have made ſo great a progreſs in the minds of the people, that you will ſee a cobler aſpiring to the magiſtracy, and maintaining that common ſenſe only is requiſite for paſſing judgment in any cauſe."

Perceiving that he was liſtened to, he raiſed his voice, and, added "Believe me my friends, men can never be equal, whilſt the wiſe and the fooliſh, the learned and the unlettered, the deſcendants of Hercules, and thoſe of Therſites, the ſtrong and the weak, pigmies and giants are ſcattered at random over the face of the earth. You want liberty and equality; this is the moment to eſtabliſh it on a ſolid baſis; ſecure it, and recollect that ſuch an opportunity will not offer itſelf to you twice in your lives.—Farewel till I ſee you again." And we then all three left the coffee-houſe.

"Who is this Saint-Huruge whom you call marquis?" ſaid the Engliſhman to the commiſſary. "A ſilly fellow," he replied; "the victim of an abuſe of authority under the former government. He had a wife whom a miniſter told that ſhe was pretty; ſhe made no oppoſition to his deſires, but the awe in which ſhe ſtood of her huſband. The miniſter had the huſband taken up, and thrown into priſon, and then lived quietly with his wife. At the revolution, the poor devil got of out priſon, and exclaimed with all his might againſt deſpotiſm. Orleans attached him to him, and made him one of his trumpeters.

As

As his want of genius and courage, and principally his indiſcretion rendered him unequal to any place of eminence at the revolution, they were content with making him one of the barkers amongſt the people. Some time ſince, the miniſter Dumourier gave him a miſſion into Belgia. Saint Huruge thinking he might do at Liſle as he had done at Paris, ſhewed himſelf in the public places, and in the coffee-houſes, exclaimed againſt the Belgian ariſtocrats, received a few canings, and was obliged to leave that city in the night. At Peronne, whither he fled, he continued his declamations, and wanted to raiſe up its inhabitants againſt the people of Liſle. The military commandant, without paying any regard to his miſſion, put him into priſon as a dangerous perſon. From this impriſonment he has but been releaſed a few days, and is juſt arrived here. He has been to the committee of general ſafety denouncing the people of Peronne, and Liſle, the troops which are there in garriſon, the generals, and all the Brabanters as ariſtocrats. They laughed at this denunciation and returned him to his trade of orator of the croud and the coffee-houſes. And thus I have given you in a few words the hiſtory of Saint Huruge.

"But here we are at the palace. Let us loſe no time in going in leſt we be interrupted again. Where ſhall we begin our viſit, gentlemen?"—"Wherever you pleaſe, we commit ourſelves to your guidance."—"Let us go to the ground-floor on the ſide next the court; we will then viſit the ſide next the garden."

We went in by a room next to the veſtibule, which is in the middle of the palace. "This" ſaid the commiſſary to us, "was the apartment of the governeſs of the children of France. It was here where the fury of the populace began on the tenth of Auguſt. And ſee its dreadful effects!"—In ſhort every thing preſented to our ſight the ſigns of an incredible madneſs; the furniture was broken and thrown about at random; the mirrors, I may almoſt ſay, were reduced to powder, for there was not a piece of any one of them of the ſize of a quarter of an inch to be ſeen; you would have ſuppoſed they had been pounded in a mortar; the ſoles of our ſhoes were rubbed rough with it when we left the room. In the middle of this apartment was a table covered with linen and cloaths, of which a man was making an inventory under the direction of two women.—"What are thoſe three people doing?"

doing?" aſked the Engliſhman. "One of them," replied the commiſſary, "is Madame Tourgel the femme-de-chambre to whom the care of the linen and apparel of her miſtreſs and the family was given. As the king furniſhed a part of their linen to every body in his houſehold, whatever is marked with the crown is to be kept back; and they are now ſorting it."—"What a contraſt do theſe two apartments only divided by a ſingle door exhibit! one is in the greateſt poſſible diſorder; while the other is remarkable for its neatneſs; the people then did not make their way into every room?"—"You are miſtaken," ſaid the commiſſary, "four days ago the face of this apartment diſplayed as great diſorder as the other; but the miniſter of the interior, Rolland, having thought proper to hold a council in the palace, pitched upon this room, and it was directly put into a fit ſtate for receiving him. Thoſe workmen whom you ſee on the other ſide are employed in cleaning the adjoining chambers, in order to render the acceſs to this leſs diſagreeable."

Lord Bedfort moved towards the apartment, and was upon the point of going in, when he heard ſomebody within ſay, "My enemies are

ſeeking

ſeeking to deſtroy me, I know it, but I fear them little; if they cauſe me to be aſſaſſinated, they ſhall find me, although dead, ſtill poſſeſſed of this ſeal, from which I will never part, that it may not be improperly uſed." At the ſame time this perſon thruſt ſomething into his breaſt, which he concealed under his waiſtcoat. We ſtepped back, and our conductor laughed. "Who is this man?"—"It is Rolland himſelf, of whom I was juſt now ſpeaking to you."—"Do you know what he means by what we heard him ſay, and what it is that he declares he will never part from?"—"Come into the bow of this window, and I will tell you all. Rolland is one of thoſe ambitious men, who are nevertheleſs timid, and without genius, and have no character but what the world aſſigns to them. Crouded into the whirlpool of the revolution by the Jacobins, he was ſurpriſed to find himſelf in office; but he ſoon got accuſtomed to it, and believed himſelf of great importance. Married to a young woman who is very beautiful and poſſeſſed of a great deal of ſenſe, he ſees only with the eyes of his rib, being quite blinded himſelf by his deſire of bringing her into notice, and having her talked of. It is ſhe who entirely di-

rects

rects his actions, it is ſhe who makes his ſpeeches, and proclamations."—"I cannot believe all this," ſaid Lord Bedfort.—"Rolland himſelf is my authority," replied the commiſſary, "the day after the tenth of Auguſt, he was running about Paris to re-eſtabliſh order, accompanied by two men in the employ of the committee, and a boſom friend of his own *. The latter made ſome remarks to him upon the proclamation which was juſt iſſued, and which was then ſticking up about the city. The miniſter being very hard run by ſome objections which he could not reply to, let ſlip theſe words, 'It is my wife's writing, and I only had time to read it over very haſtily.' At the ſame time he drew from his pocket, the rough copy entirely in the hand-writing of his wife, and added, 'This is not the firſt folly ſhe has made me commit: I am accuſed of having publiſhed all over France, a liſt of perſons to be named to the national convention; I aſſure you that was her doing, and I knew nothing of it, any more than the reſt of the world, till it was printed.' This is what I heard from the three men who were in the car-

* Lanthenas, the miniſter's ſecretary; Boſque afterwards the adminiſtrator of the poſts; and another man in the employ of the office of the interior whoſe name I have forgotten.

riage

riage with him, and who notwithſtanding their attachment to Rolland, ſhrugged up their ſhoulders as they told me. If you have any doubts you ſhall hear it from their own lips.

"Thus you ſee Rolland blindly follows the directions of his wife. And notwithſtanding theſe take up a good deal of her time, ſhe ſtill finds a leiſure hour for her pleaſures. A deputy, named Barbaroux, has the art of pleaſing her. She ſees him at her own houſe; and in order that ſhe may not be diſturbed by her huſband, this is the plan ſhe purſues. Such nights as ſhe wiſhes to paſs with her gallant, ſhe takes care in the courſe of the day to have the miniſter warned that there is a plot laid to break into his houſe, and aſſaſſinate him in the night, and adviſed to hide himſelf ſomewhere. Sometimes he goes to a friend's houſe; but more frequently he comes hither, and paſſes the night in one continual ſtate of alarm, always hiding the ſeal of the republic under his waiſtcoat like a taliſman, and repeating without ceaſing, 'I will never part from it.'—B . . . . ., of whom I juſt now ſpoke, is made uſe of by him as a ſpy at the times he ſleeps from home. He ſends him to walk round his houſe, and ſee if there is any body going in; and as no

ideas

ideas are entertained of aſſaſſinating him, B . . . . . comes back and tells him he has ſeen nobody. Laugh as much as you pleaſe, it is a true joke."

"French women for ever!" exclaimed lord B. "our Engliſh ladies are not capable of inventing ſuch tricks."—"You ſee it is not at all ſurprizing," ſaid the commiſſary, "that Rolland thinks he has many enemies: no doubt but he has ſome."—"Juſt as it is with us," ſaid lord B., "we reſemble each other in that. Our parliament and your national aſſembly are of accord in ſwearing hatred againſt all miniſters*: but hitherto we have gone farther than you have; for we think that he who cannot pleaſe the people muſt be culpable."—"This aſſertion has already been advanced in our journals, and I am afraid it will ſoon become an article of faith."—"Give me leave a moment, gentlemen," ſaid lord B., "I muſt note this in my tablets."—The commiſſary then ſaid to me, "Do you not know why all theſe men out of place profeſs ſo violent

* I ſhall cite for example, what Charles Fox anſwered in full parliament to the propoſition made by lord Nugent for allying themſelves with the miniſters. This chief of the oppoſition ended a very warm ſpeech with theſe words, 'To ally ourſelves with ſuch men, would be to ally ourſelves with ruin, with diſgrace, and infamy.'

a hatred

a hatred and ſpirit of perſcution againſt miniſters and kings?"—"No."—"It is that if they did not, they would not be known to exiſt, they would be nothing. The way to make them ſilent is to create them miniſters themſelves."

Whilſt our Engliſhman was making his notes, a young man paſſed us carrying four bottles, which by the care with which they were ſealed and corked, could not be miſtaken to contain wines of the firſt quality. The commiſſary ſtopped him, and aſked him whence that wine came, and whither he was going to carry it. "To the council," he anſwered, "for the breakfaſt of the miniſters; it is a diſcovery that I made myſelf three days ago; you ſee," ſaid he, "the ruins of that houſe," pointing into the court; "as I was ſweeping there, I diſcovered a cellar door; I went in alone, and found it filled with above two thouſand bottles of wine of all kinds, packed away with great care. I enquired to whom this cellar belonged, and I learnt to M. Laborde. I made my report to the committee, who had it ſeized to be ſold, in conſideration of the proprietor having emigrated. But the miniſter, Rolland, as ſoon as he heard of it, came to another reſolution, and ordered that the wine

ſhould

ſhould be ſerved up to the miniſters at breakfaſt. If you wiſh for any of it, M. Commiſſary, you have only to ſpeak."—"I am much obliged to you," was all the reply the commiſſary made.

"Upon my word," ſaid my lord rejoining us, "your virtuous miniſter Rolland is not very ſcrupulous; I did not think the nation was bound to pay for his breakfaſts, and thoſe of his colleagues. Methinks he is ſetting a very dangerous example of pillage."—"Give me leave a moment," replied the commiſſary, "with a few words of explanation, you will ſee that he is only profiting by his right. It is a cuſtom in Paris, that the lawyers, when they are making out inventories, ſhall have the right of uſing whatever candle they find in the houſes where they are employed, and of drinking the wine in the cellar, whilſt they are at work; and you will allow that the miniſter ought to have the ſame indulgence here. As the notary is called upon to take an inventory by the heirs of any individual's property, ſo Rolland has been appointed by the convention to perform the ſame office here. Thus"— "Do not finiſh your argument," ſaid Lord Bedfort, "you muſt yourſelf ſee that it wants weight; for you know that the

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heirs are here the nation ; that ſhe has, by means of her repreſentatives, given in charge to the miniſter of the interior to name proper perſons to take inventories of the Tuileries and other royal palaces, and that theſe perſons are the commiſſaries of whom you are one. The miniſter then can only be conſidered here as the root of power, and has no right to the benefits which your evil cuſtom allows. The commiſſaries alone have the right of claiming them. I can ſee in the order iſſued by Rolland, only an abuſe of authority, and a bad example which he is ſetting to his ſubordinates."—" This is being too rigid, particularly at the time of a revolution."—" That is the very point upon which we diſagree ; if under the excuſe of your living juſt now at the time of a revolution, your men in power allow themſelves to commit with impunity the ſlighteſt infraction upon the laws and honeſty, how can you puniſh the ſimple citizen when he commits the ſame fault ? If a man in place takes a crown, does he not authorize the individual to take a million ? The difference of the ſum makes no alteration in the nature of the crime. On the contrary, if there were any degrees in puniſhments, I would more ſeverely puniſh the former

than the latter. But I am dwelling too long upon a point of which you ſee the juſtice as well as I do."

On leaving this apartment our conductor took us to the end of a long corridor, which received its light ſolely from lamps with which it was always illuminated. "This corridor," he ſaid to us, "exactly divides the ground floors of the palace. On our right are the apartments which look into the court, and upon our left thoſe which front the garden. It was made in 1789, after the royal family were conſtrained to take up their abode here. It facilitates the interior communication, and private acceſs to the apartments. Several doors open into it as you ſee. This little ſtair-caſe leads to the queen's library, which is in the middle ſtory next the garden, and continues up to the laſt ſtory, where are the rooms of her children. It was up that, that any body whom ſhe wiſhed to have viſit her privately was taken. A little farther is the door, at which the family went out when they fled from Paris in 1791. It is poſitively ſaid that it was made for that ſole purpoſe."

He next opened a door into a room which he told us had been occupied by the biſhop

of . . . . ., who was the moſt gallant prelate in all France. Seeing that the Engliſhman and myſelf were caſting our eyes over ſome papers that were lying ſcattered upon a table, "Do not conſtrain yourſelves," ſaid the commiſſary; "if you have any curioſity to examine theſe writings; I can give you full leave, for they have already been viſited. They have picked out every thing they thought of conſequence, and the reſt is left here to be burnt. All that I enjoin you is, not to mention the name of the biſhop, or of the lady neareſt his heart; they are both alive, and of high reſpectability, ſetting aſide this little intrigue."—"Since you give me leave I will take this packet, I ſhall find ſome uſe for it;" and ſo ſaying I put into my pocket very nearly all the correſpondence." In a very few moments you ſhall have all that is intereſting in it laid before you. The Engliſhman ſeeing a cloſet partly open, went up to it; "Here is the gentleman's library," he exclaimed; "but I ſee here only profane works, Rouſſeau, Mablis, Voltaire, and his antagoniſt Fréron, not one holy father, not one volume of controverſy; you muſt be miſtaken ſir," addreſſing the commiſſary, "this cannot be the library of a prelate."—"Indeed it is, and as a proof,

a proof, ſee here the works of the Cardinal de Bernis."—"A curious proof indeed!"—"You are now convinced I hope; here is the miſſal of Paris." "Oh, this ſets all right indeed."—"This book cauſes me to make a ſlight remark; ſometime ago your prieſts of all ranks, and we ſee ſome good curates in the country do ſo ſtill, uſed to carry under their arm the four parts of the miſſal in one thick quarto volume. Your abbés of the court, thinking this too great an incumbrance, had it reprinted in a more convenient ſize; and now four little volumes of twelves, holding each the prayers of three months, have taken place of the thick and heavy octavo. With each ſeaſon they change the volume with their clothes; or indeed thus it is, the firſt volume is put into the pocket of the velvet ſuit; the ſecond and fourth into the pocket of the cloth coat; and in the coat of Pekin or Naples ſilk is placed the ſummer volume. Hail inventive genius of the church!"

A noiſe in the adjoining room interrupted our laugh. Our complaiſant commiſſary made a ſignal to us to follow him, and we all three went in. "What, are you here ſtill, gentlemen?" ſaid the commiſſary to two men who were lay-

ing in rows ſome bundles of linen in this apartment. "Neither locks, bolts, nor ſeals can ſtop you; as we go out at one door, you come in by another; it is, however, time that a ſtop be put to theſe proceedings. Either you or I, are here without the right of being ſo. You know the authority that has been placed in my hands, I have given you proof of it, and am willing to do ſo again before theſe gentlemen, if you deſire it; now have the goodneſs to ſhow me yours."

"It is of no uſe," anſwered one of the men," your putting on this air of conſequence. We are both members of the commune, and nominated by it upon the 10th of Auguſt, to anſwer the claims of ſuch perſons as had lived in this palace, we have only been fulfilling our office, and we have ſtill ſome articles left to deliver—" "Which you ſhall not deliver."—"Will you attempt to prevent us?"—"Certainly I ſhall."—"That would be curious, for a ſimple clerk of the traiterous miniſter Rolland to attempt to impoſe laws upon two municipal officers."—"I ſhall not reply either to your ſneers or your idle remarks; I ſhall only explain myſelf. In the evening of the 10th of Auguſt, the municipality appointed to watch over the Thuileries, Meſſieurs Dumonchette

Dumonchette and Egaſſe, who held the office in junction with two members of the convention, Bazire and Goupilleau. M. Dumonchette having been appointed a member of the department, the commune ſent hither in his ſtead M. Fichu. At the ſame inſtant, you, Meſſieurs Jacma, and Dryndé, appeared in the palace, aſſerting that you are ſent by the ſame commune to deliver the articles that are laid claim to. In vain do I aſk you for your authority: You cannot ſhow me it. It is in vain that I inquire how you came to be appointed: not one of your colleagues can anſwer the queſtion; and ſtill you keep going on. It is nothing to me whether you have kept an exact account of what you have done; whether you have given to one perſon, what belonged to another; whether you have delivered out articles of all kinds to people who have come to you, and ſaid that they had lived in the palace, whilſt on the other hand, you were poſitively told that they were never known there; but what is my buſineſs as a member of the commiſſion of the moveables is not to let you touch another atom. You know that ſince the 15th of September a decree has placed this palace as well as all the houſes upon the civil liſt under the government

of the miniſter of the interior; and is it not aſtoniſhing that in ſpite of this decree you ſhould have dared to thruſt yourſelves in? This wilfulneſs raiſes in my mind certain ſuſpicions about you, which I hope you do not deſerve. I know alſo that you have been at work at the hotel Coigny, without any more authority than you have to intermeddle here. I warn you, for the laſt time, not to put your hands upon any ſingle thing under this adminiſtration, and adviſe you to retire peaceably."

"Oh," cried they, "we know very well that you are only a *Feuillant* in your heart*. Yes, we will retire, but you ſhall ſhortly hear of us; we ſhall go and find information of what has happened to the commune, and then you will ſee whether it will ſuffer two of its members to be thus attacked with impunity." "*Au revoir*," ſaid the commiſſary, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders; and then conducted them to the door, which he double locked upon them, and came back to us.

"I admire your firmneſs," ſaid I to the commiſſary," but are you not afraid of bringing your-

* The *moderés* are likewiſe ſtyled *Feuillans*, becauſe when they were perſecuted by the Jacobins, and expelled that club, they aſſembled themſelves as a diſtinct ſociety in the refectory of the convent of the *Feuillans* at Paris. *Tranſlator's note.*

ſelf

ſelf into a ſcrape?" "A man is not worth hanging that will not expoſe himſelf to ſome danger in the performance of his duty. All that I am ſorry for is, that I have not authority to do more. If at this moment of enthuſiaſm the maſs of the people did not conſider the members of the commune as excluſive patriots, ſome days ago theſe men would never have gone to bed again. But there exiſts a chain of connection in this commune, that they cannot puniſh the moſt iniquitous of its members, without expoſing themſelves to an inſurrection."—"This appears to me one reaſon for being apprehenſive that the manner in which you have treated theſe men may draw trouble upon you," ſaid Lord B.—"Not at all," anſwered the commiſſary, "theſe gentlemen do not take offence when you tell them the truth to their face privately. I know them, and will engage to ſay that they will not ſpeak of it; and that they will be the firſt to bow to me when we meet."

"As it is getting late, let us quicken our ſteps in going over this part of the palace."—"That we ſhall ſoon have done, there is little remarkable to be found in it."—"This was the apartment of M. Villequier, and from which it is ſaid the

royal family ſet out on their journey to Varennes. This appears very probable, as the door in the corridor which I pointed out to your obſervation, opens into this apartment, where every thing is ſtill in the greateſt diſorder."—"I ſee no door at all."—"Have a moment's patience; help me to move this ſecretary which conceals it; there it is."—"How this piece of furniture which we have juſt been moving is broken behind."——

"The ſame remark is probably paſſing in your mind that I made on perceiving this myſelf," ſaid the commiſſary, "I mean, how blind man is in his paſſion; he wants to avenge himſelf on his fellow men, and ſtill lets his anger fall upon looking-glaſſes, pictures, chairs and tables; in ſhort, no inanimate object is an obſtacle in his way; nothing can reſiſt the force of his arm. My reflection is ſtill more melancholy. This piece of furniture is perhaps the hundredth which I have found in the ſame ſtate; its back broken to pieces, and then ſet up againſt the wall again. And can you think that the crowd which broke into the palace on the 10th of Auguſt, would take all this pains about damaging ſuch articles as came within the reach of their fury? Certainly not; when they ruſhed into an apartment,

apartment, they ſtruck with their pikes or ſwords, any object juſt as it ſtood. Thus they would have damaged the front of any piece of furniture, and not the back part which they did not ſee."—"I underſtand you; but is not it poſſible that theſe men might have thrown down ſuch articles of furniture, which would fall upon their front, and then have broken in their backs as they lay?"—"I made the ſame reflection; and I was even more ſcrupulous in my examination. Look attentively at this ſecretary; the front is very perfect; although loaded with armaments, and covered with veneering, it is not at all damaged. Certainly, if it had been thrown down, you would at leaſt ſee ſome part of it cracked. This is the caſe with all the ſecretaries about the palace; and what is very remarkable, they are the only pieces of furniture which have been thus abuſed."—"What can you think of this circumſtance?"—"That it was not by the inſurgents of the 10th of Auguſt, by whom this damage was done to them; but as I ſuſpect by the very people who were ſent hither on the following days to prevent the pillage of the place."—"Were theſe pieces of furniture which were thus damaged found open?"—"No; and this

confirms

confirms me in my ſuſpicions. When the ſearch after the papers was made in the palace, the commiſſaries came attended by a lock-ſmith. He will tell you that almoſt all the ſecretaries were found locked, and that they did not diſcover a ſingle crown piece, nor an aſſignat of five livres value in any one of them."—"That is not to be wondered at; as the inſurrection was expected, every inhabitant of the palace had without doubt put into his pocket all the money he poſſeſſed."—"But they did not even find a ſingle trinket, not one of thoſe little articles which people commonly lock up in their ſecretaries."—"To that I make the ſame reply."—"It may be ſo; and only proves that thoſe who pryed into them had their labour for their pains, and the reward of their diſhoneſty; but I muſt nevertheleſs go on thinking that this piece of furniture, and all thoſe which ſhared the ſame fate, were ſecretly broken after the inſurrection."—"I ſhall note down your obſervation," ſaid Lord Bedfort.

We continued our progreſs through other rooms which offered nothing curious to our obſervation. In one of them was piled up all the copper kitchen utenſils which had been found ſcattered about the palace; in another all

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the fire-irons and copper candleſticks. Theſe rooms were in the uſe of the king, and had ſuffered very little in the general pillage. In going out of thoſe, we found ourſelves in a room under the ſtaircaſe leading to the prince's apartments. Several workmen were employed in picking out trunks from a pile of about a hundred. They made choice of thoſe to which they found keys; and as they were but few in number, they were obliged to pull about the whole. One of theſe men drew out one of which the weight aſtoniſhed him. "M. Commiſſary," he exclaimed, "this cheſt is full of ſomething, I'll anſwer for it." We went up to it, and found that it was indeed very heavy. As it was without a key, the commiſſary ordered the lock to be burſt. What was our ſurprize as ſoon as it was opened to find it filled with ſuch utenſils as were uſed in the king's chapel, in his campaigns. Every piece was properly encloſed in a caſe made purpoſely to contain it. The commiſſary drew out a candleſtick, which we were all convinced was of ſilver gilt. Directly all the trunks were ſearched, and they found a ſecond full of the ornaments for the prieſts. The commiſſary had them carried to the committee. What negligence! Why might not

not any one of theſe workmen have taken away all theſe articles of value one at a time. For a long time there had been a ſearch making after this ſervice; ſomebody muſt have known where it was hid. "What will be done with it?" aſked Lord B. "Sent to the mint," replied the commiſſary, "where it will all be put to the crucible."—"How can they deſtroy workmanſhip which doubtleſs coſt more than the material is worth?"—"What can be done? ſuch are the orders; I grieve at it as well as you, for they might certainly make much better of it, by ſelling it to foreigners. They have melted down in like manner things much more curious and beautiful."

The clock now ſtriking three warned us to depart.—"The day after to-morrow, gentlemen," ſaid the commiſſary bowing to us, "I ſhall be glad to ſee you here again; but to-morrow my buſineſs will not allow me the pleaſure of attending upon you." The Engliſhman and I then parted, promiſing to meet each other again on the day after the next.

Political and amorous correſpondence between M. I. C. D. L. F., and M. D. B. E. d'A.

As upon the former occaſion, I ſhut myſelf up after dinner in my room to read the papers with

with which I had filled my pockets: remarks upon the times, ſonnets, love-letters, and ſongs compoſed the collection. I reſolved to extract from them what appeared moſt intereſting to lay before my readers.

The gallant hero of this intrigue was a prelate of threeſcore years, while the lady of his affections had counted only twenty-two ſprings. Notwithſtanding the diſproportion of age, it appears that the young lady was really very fond of the old dotard. The biſhop was not even a fine man of his years, he had a faultering gait from his infancy and the winter of age had bleached his hair. But notwithſtanding the outward marks of old age, it appears that he had ſtill a very warm heart in his old body. And he in ſome meaſure made amends for the ravages of time by a lively wit. At leaſt ſo I have found by his letters.

His Iphigenia was neither beautiful nor elegant; but a certain genteel air gave her at firſt ſight an appearance of poſſeſſing both thoſe bewitching qualities. Vain of a place which ſhe held under the queen, ſhe was in the habit of ſhowing off the moſt affected airs, which ſhe did not balance by a ſingle enchanting quality.

Proud of her family and her rank, ſhe was offended at the ſlighteſt diſreſpect ſhewn to her; and wiſhing to impoſe a ſenſe of her dignity upon thoſe whom birth or the caprice of fortune had made her inferiors, ſhe regularly conducted herſelf towards them with the moſt haughty demeanour; from which it may be eaſily conjectured that ſhe was by no means liked by thoſe who ſerved her.

To ſay how and when the intrigue firſt began between theſe two people is what I am not able, having found no note of it amongſt my papers. It ſeems to me from the tout enſemble of the correſpondence that the biſhop had been in the habit of flattering the vanity of the counteſs; and that this being her weak ſide, he had won her heart by it. All the art of which a man wants to be poſſeſſed to enſure him ſucceſs in an intrigue, is for him firſt of all to have ſtudied the character of the woman into whoſe good graces he wants to inſinuate himſelf. When he once knows that, he muſt be a poor bungler indeed if he cannot win her heart. Tell an elegant woman that ſhe is beautiful; a coquette that ſhe is pretty, an ugly woman that ſhe is lovely, all grace and faſcination; point out defects in all

thoſe

thoſe that are really handſomer than the woman you are paying your court to; flatter her foibles however ridiculous they may be; and I will anſwer for it that you ſucceed with nineteen women out of the twenty. I dare ſay it was the way our hero went to work; let us have a peep at his ſtyle of letter-writing.

Letter of B. to Madame D.

"To live away from you, my dear counteſs, is to me to be exiled from the world itſelf. You know, charming woman, that I can only exiſt in loving you, and, I muſt whiſper it in your ear, ſcarcely exiſt without you deign me a ſmall return of affection. What ſignifies the difference of our ages? True love aſks only for the proof of a return of tenderneſs, and as long as it can give and receive that, it is always in the bloſſom of life. It is a point which you have conſtantly been repeating to me, and in which you ſhall never find me remiſs. But when will an opportunity—Oh, ſilence! that word redoubles my anguiſh and my love. I will now ſay a few words about my affairs.

"I thought when I arrived here in Coblentz, to find a univerſal appearance of war, but I ſee nothing

nothing but the fripperies of courtiers, and their effeminate airs. Every body walks out ſo ſmart, and people ſtop to talk only of the court; then they go to the levée of Monſieur, and his brother, as they went at Verſailles to that of the king. I wanted to talk with ſome of them about the plans to be purſued in the enſuing campaign, the good regulation of the army, in ſhort of the methods to be taken for re-eſtabliſhing the throne in its ancient ſplendour; they laughed in my face, and ſaid to me, 'Patience, my dear abbé, all will be right in a little time. The emperor, the king of Pruſſia, and Guſtavus will ſoon make a viſit to Paris; we ſhall have the pleaſure of conducting them.' I tell you frankly that I think theſe powers will not interfere for all theſe knights of the toilet. Under theſe feelings I compoſed a ballad which I have ſent you.

I ſing of days now long gone by,
The Chivalry of France,
When every youth was loyal born,
And bred to wield his lance.
A knight of promiſe then was he,
Belike to him I ſing,
Who kept his heart and holy faith,
For his miſtreſs and his king.

His

" His ſervice he his duty called,
His life was free from care,
Content was he to be beloved
By his king and his lady dear.
Honour alone was his reward,
'Twas honour gave him laws ;
In former days, the Frenchman lived
And died in his country's cauſe.

" His vows of conſtancy he oft
Would to his memory bring,
But ſtill more ſacred were his vows
Of fealty to his king.
A knight, with love and glory clad,
Full recompence would have,
When fame proclaimed his valiant deeds,
And beauty crowned the brave.

" For love and loyalty renowned,
Full ſatisfied was he ;
No leſſer cares could ever ſpoil
His mind's ſerenity.
The knight with grace redoubled ſhone,
When in the ſhady grove,
His lady with the laurel wreath,
Mixed the mild ſprigs of love.

" Ye glorying in a monarch's fall
Who would new laws proclaim,
Still will I cheriſh in my heart
My king's moſt ſacred name ;
For though no powerful ſanction now
Approves the deeds I ſing,
Yet a true Frenchman's creed is mine,—
My miſtreſs and my king.

" I confeſs to you, adored counteſs, that I ſhould this moment return to Paris, if I did not

dread that I might be running myſelf into danger. But I have hitherto come off too well to expoſe myſelf again, and I dread the whip * more than a child. I aſſure you that if Venus was to ſhake it at me in the ſame way ſhe did at her ſon, I ſhould ſhrink; ſo much am I alarmed even at the name.

"What news is there? Here the reports are as contradictory as numerous. I ſhall only believe ſuch intelligence as you ſend me.

"Farewel, my all adorable, give ſometimes a thought to him who neither lives nor breathes, but after he has been refreſhed by one of thoſe kiſſes which place him amongſt the gods."

Letter of Madame D. to M. B.

"And ſo the time you are abſent from me appears an eternity, my dear biſhop! I can believe it; for I tell you without flattery that it hangs equally heavy upon me. For, notwithſtanding your age, of which I beg of you to ſay no more, I prefer you to all thoſe prematurely

* All thoſe who are acquainted with the leſſer events of the revolution, muſt remember that in 1791, when M. B. was paſſing along a ſtreet in Paris, he was recognized by a body of the people, who got round him, and were going to horſe-whip him; which puniſhment he would certainly have ſuffered, if the guard had not come up and reſcued him.

old

old courtiers, who can do nothing but talk nonſenſe. If your hair is white, you heart has the genial warmth of the ſpring. With them it is juſt the contrary. Beſides, white is the colour of ſenſe rather than the ſign of old-age: which is the reaſon that the heads of theſe youths whom I have juſt been ſpeaking of will never become white. In a word, in ſpite of your age, in ſpite of all the world, and even of you yourſelf, I do love you, and will love you with all my ſoul; and now I have ſaid it once for all.

"You doubtleſs know that Mirabeau is no more; I do not know whether I ought to grieve or rejoice at this circumſtance; our partizans fear that royalty will be entombed with him. He was a great raſcal; but Les Lameth are ſtill greater. It is only upon this conſideration that my opinion is undecided. I am perſuaded, after having heard all the different accounts of his death, that he was poiſoned. Thus conſidered, I am ſorry for him. Here are ſome verſes which M. Lemonnier gave me. They ſpeak, I believe, exactly your ideas. Pray thank me very prettily for them.

'Get your chains,' cried out Minos, when Charon brought o'er
Mirabeau's bloody ſhade to the Stygian ſhore,

, Bind this ghoſt hand and limb, and that done let him roll
Through the ſulphurous flames into Phlegethon's pool.
We have heard of his murdering fame upon earth,
Where his blood-thirſty rage made of victims a dearth.
If at liberty here he might play the ſame game,
Ev'n determin'd in Hell that he'd keep up his name;
Firſt throw Proſerpine ſhrieking upon her own fire,
Next hurl down Pluto's ſelf from his throne in his ire,
And while on the neck of this monarch he treads,
Guillotine poor old Cerberus tho' he's three heads.'

"They teaze the prieſts more and more every day. Even the reſpectable inhabitants of La Trappe they compel to quit their ſacred aſylum. The decree with regard to the eccleſiaſtics is terrible. Upon that one point only has the king ſhown any firmneſs; it may well be ſaid, that he has only courage in the commiſſion of folly. Between ourſelves, he has drawn upon himſelf his fate. The worſt of it is that it rebounds upon us. Inſtead of having the prudence to keep ſilent, or the addreſs to appear to yield, the pope has been iſſuing a bull. The conſequence of which is that he has procured himſelf to be made a laughing-ſtock. Some riotous people have been burning him in effigy at the Palais royal; and the enthuſiaſts have ſeized this opportunity for redoubling the oppreſſion of the prieſts.

"An

"An event has taken place, which will doubtleſs be told to you in an hundred different ſhapes; but I ſhall give you the truth. Our good man, not chooſing to perform his Eaſter devotions here, in order that they might not be adminiſtered to him by an apoſtate, determined to go to Saint-Cloud. Scarcely had he got into his carriage before the mob ſurrounded him, abuſed him; and obliged him to return into the palace again after having ſuffered their inſolence for an hour. The guard came to reſtore tranquillity; but in the uſual way, when the fray was over *, *ſon commandant des Grenouilles*, made a great buſtle, and talked of throwing up his place. Nobody was duped by this parade, which was all planned before hand; and what was the reſult? Mortification to the king and that was all. Here he is again to blame. Why could not he juſt as well have performed his Eaſter devotions in the chapel of the Tuileries, as at Saint Cloud?

* This ſentence is conjectured to refer to Fayette, but why he was called *the commandant des Grenouilles*, except *Grenouilles* was a nickname given to the national guards, I cannot underſtand; I have therefore preſerved the original words. It is certain that a very ſhort time after the tranſaction here alluded to, he talked of giving in his reſignation.

Indeed all that is paſſing is enough to make one ſicken with grief. When ſhall we ſee an end of theſe dreadful times?

"Good night, my friend; why are you not here to conſole me? or rather why cannot I come to you! In the mean while receive this kiſs which you ſo much value, and which I value as much as you do."

Letter of M. B. to Madame D.

"You are in the right, my beloved friend; every part of this unhappy revolution is the reſult of injudicious ſteps. The want of a proper underſtanding is the cauſe. At Paris, the queen wants too much power and the king too little. Here, Monſieur and the Count D'Artois his brother wiſh to delay matters, while the prince de Condé is impatient to act. This want of plan and union amongſt themſelves, makes me augur ill of the future. At Coblentz the king is looked upon as being of ſo little weight, that they do not even recruit in his name. In the regiſters of the enliſted, the name of the monarch is entirely eclipſed by thoſe of his brothers; and where it is inſerted, it is merely becauſe they they dare not leave it out *. This obſervation may

* Copy of an Engagement.

Regiment of the Prince's Royal Light Troops.

I the underwritten bind myſelf of my own

may ſeem trifling to you ; I ſee it as the ſpring of many events.

" The aſſaſſination of Guſtavus, and the death of the emperor will be great cauſes of delay, if they do not entirely change the intentions of theſe two courts. Ruſſia and Sweden have aſked of Holland a loan of ſome millions. This propoſition was diſcuſſed upon the exchange at Amſter-

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own free will and without conſtraint to ſerve the king in the quality of a ſoldier, for the term of four or eight years ; on condition of receiving a permanent diſcharge at the expiration of that time ; and am to receive for my preſent engagement, the ſum of after having paſſed the firſt review of the general, or commiſſary of war.

I declare that I have no concealed infirmity which can prevent my ſerving the king, and the princes MONSIEUR and Monſieur the count D'ARTOIS, and that I do not previouſly belong to any of their land or naval forces ; accordingly I promiſe to ſerve with fidelity and honour, and to behave upon all occaſions as an honeſt and brave ſoldier.

I declare that I am years old ; born at in the pariſh of dioceſe of province of diſtrict of ſon of and of made out the

DESCRIPTION.

The perſon here above named, is in height his hair and eye-brows are his eyes his noſe his mouth his chin the ſhape of his face

Signed

dam. The merchants conſent to furniſh the loan, upon condition of a formal declaration being made that the money is not to be employed in making war on France. And as this was the deſign, the loan is ſet aſide. This retards their operations very much. For the money and effects which the queen ſends through this place to Calonne, are ſcarcely ſufficient to maintain the emigrants, the greater part of whom have brought nothing away with them, but their ſword and their courage.

"The turn which affairs appear to be taking makes me deſire to come back to France. And in order that the year which I have paſſed here may not be an objection in my way, as being called an emigration, this is the plan I have laid, and for the ſucceſs of which I look to you. Go to my notary, whom you know; tell him to draw out two deeds in my name, one as of a borrower, the other as of a lender, at ſix months date from each other. I will ſign them both at my return; and thus I ſhall always be able to give a proof of my reſidence.

"I do not think at all of the death of Mirabeau as you do; I cannot believe monarchy entombed with him. He was one of thoſe men who are capable

capable of doing much miſchief, but who can never be uſeful, he was too much diſtracted in his ideas and his projects.

"I hope, beautiful counteſs, that in a fortnight you will repoſe in my arms, and there forget the wounds of your country. Oh thou ſoft dew of love! mayeſt thou ſoon cool the aridity of a heart, which beats but for the refreſhment of thy charms."

Letter of Madame D. to M. B.

"Notwithſtanding the pleaſure I ſhould have in embracing you, notwithſtanding the bound of joy which my heart would give at your return, remain my dear friend, I conjure you remain where you are. What ſhould you come back to this infernal city for? Whoever is great, whoever is honourable, in ſhort whoever is virtuous, experiences here only oppreſſion and diſguſt. Every day brings with it an aggravation of our misfortunes. Till now, the herd from the riding ſchool * uſed to compliment the king every time they took a gem from his crown; now he is ſtript, they begin to behave inſolently to him. You may be certain that all thoſe who are attached

* So called becauſe the national convention firſt kept their ſittings there.

to him feel this. For this reaſon none of our party dare ſhow themſelves. Take my advice and ſtay where you are in ſpite of all the decrees about the emigrants. Recollect that the king ſuffers all without uttering a word. After that how is it poſſible to love him who is an abetter in all theſe diſſolutions and horrors? The Tuileries is expecting to be beſieged, and is prepared for the attack; to this end, ſome courageous royaliſts are introduced into it ſecretly every night. In ſhort we are ſurrounded all day by horrid figures, who are ſinging ſtill more horrid ſentiments. No honeſt man can live in Paris.

"I have ſeen your notary; he promiſes every thing; and if he had been able to imitate your ſignature, he would have executed the deeds; but on account of the regiſtering, the thing was infeaſible.

"We have new miniſters again. They conſiſt of clerks and advocates, men of intrigue and ambition, and enemies to the king."

This is all that I found worth extracting from the correſpondence. Notwithſtanding the advice of his lady, the gallant prelate returned to France, and continued his willing bondage. But what

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is the beſt part of the ſtory, is his having recovered his property notwithſtanding his emigration. When I was in converſation with the commiſſary ſome months after, I mentioned this biſhop to to him; he ſmiled, and ſaid; "You have done him a great ſervice without knowing it, in taking away his letters from the palace."—"How ſo?"—"We knew that he had emigrated, and conſequently ſequeſtered his effects. About ſix months ago he preſented himſelf at our committee to reclaim them, bringing with him ſome deeds which proved his reſidence in France. You laugh. I know as much as you do about the invalidity of the deeds, and what I told him will prove it to you. After it was reſolved that his property was to be reſtored to him, I conducted him to his apartment. When he was going to call out at the ruinous ſtate in which he ſaw things, I ſilenced him by ſaying, 'Don't ſpeak ſo loud, the perſon who has your letters is here cloſe by; he is a warm patriot, and might not only prevent your having any thing reſtored to you, but have you taken up into the bargain in ſpite of your deeds of which he knows the ſecret.'

"At theſe words the biſhop turned pale, and trembled. I told him he had nothing to fear; he

thanked me, and had his effects taken away. "I had seen these letters," added the commissary, "before you did; and when I allowed you to take them away, my motive was that they might not fall into bad hands."

CHAP. VII.

A WALK IN PARIS.

FOURTH DAY.

A Viſit to the Coffee-houſes.—Their Phyſiognomy.—Perfidious Invention of a Newſpaper Editor.—An extraordinary Stratagem uſed to avoid the Proſcription.—Republican Baptiſm.—The walking Orator.—Origin of the Word Sans-Culotte.—Tumultuous Sitting of the National Convention —Origin of the Word Inſurrection.—Dinner, where they fabricate different Motions.—Cabal at which the Queſtion was diſcuſſed of eſtabliſhing a Republic in France.—A ſhort Reviſion of ancient and modern Republics.—Anecdotes about the Theft of the Jewels of the Crown—and of different Deputies.—Aſſembly of Les Cordeliers.—Aſſembly of the Jacobins.—Near Reſemblance of the Cordeliers ſupported by Orleans, and the Red-brothers protected by Cromwell.

THE buſineſs of our commiſſary having left us this day unemployed, Lord Bedfort made me promiſe to fill it up by viſiting whatever in Paris could gratify curioſity. The Valois coffee-houſe, at the Palais Royal, was the ſpot where we appointed to meet. "Why," ſaid he when we met, "have you choſen this coffee-houſe, where for the half hour that I have been in it, I have ſeen nothing but ſorrowful faces?"—"Becauſe this place is renowned for being the central point of meeting of

of the royaliſts. We will go from this to another which will preſent you with an entirely oppoſite phyſiognomy. The ſorrowful countenances which you ſee here, are the very pictures of the ſouls of the friends to the throne: In a minute you will hear them uttering complaints. Let us ſit down to breakfaſt."—"With all my heart; but let us ſee what the papers ſay to-day."—"They are not worth the trouble of reading."—"Why they tell us the news; inform us, what was done yeſterday at the convention, and the Jacobin aſſembly."—"Their news is falſe, and their information not to be depended upon; in order to convince you of it, I will go with you to-day to the aſſembly and the club, and to-morrow you ſhall read the papers. I will bet any wager that you don't find in them what you have heard."—"This is a deceit that ought to be puniſhed."—"Who ſhould puniſh it? The papers always extol to the ſkies the idol of the day, and trample down all who oppoſe him. Only pay attention to their manner of giving an account of any diſcuſſion; they pick out the ſtrongeſt arguments uſed by the prevailing party, and the weakeſt oppoſed to them by the adverſary. The greater number of people who now a-days read the papers,

papers, and who have not the diſcernment to perceive the impoſition, believe what they ſay, and rank themſelves under the ſtandard of the firſt party.

" It is the ſame thing with common news. The portion of their papers which contains that, is merely calculated to get them cuſtom. Their conſtant buyers, particularly thoſe in the country, and indeed thoſe alſo of the capital, hate the reflections of the editors; they infinitely prefer a little ſcandal. That is the reaſon why *les Annales* of Mercier and Cara, and *le Courier* of Gorſus, are ſo much ſought after. I will tell you what Gauthier junior, editor of the *Journal de la Cour et de la Ville* ſaid to me on the ſubject; 'The only way to enſure the ſale and fame of a newſpaper, is to throw into it a great deal of tittle-tattle; and every now and then to whet the curioſity by piquante anecdotes, no matter whether they be true or not. Finding a few weeks ago that my paper did not go off, it came into my head to give information in it of a great maſſacre which was going to take place during the night, and to ſay that the aſſaſſins were to be directed to the houſes they were to enter, by ſeeing them chalked upon. The evening before, I ran about ſeveral ſtreets of Paris, and ſtopping here and there, under pretence

tence of neceſſity, I marked the houſe I ſtopped by with a piece of chalk I had in my hand. Well, the feint produced the deſired effect; the day that my paper came out, the people flocked to buy it, and I was obliged to take it off three times. The papers of the next day repeated my piece of news; and two days after, all Paris felt convinced that a general maſſacre had been deſigned."

"What a dreadful reſource! without knowing him, and merely from hearing this of him, it would give me pleaſure to be told he was proſcribed: do you know what is become of him?"—"I'll ſhow you him this evening."—"How! dares he ſhow himſelf?"—"Oh yes, and on a ſpot where the boldeſt tremble. On the 10th of Auguſt, they broke into his houſe, which they plundered, deſtroyed his preſs, and threw its remnants into the ſtreet. In order to conceal himſelf in the ſearch that was making after him, he hid himſelf for two days in the houſe of a girl with whom he was in the habit of living. During this time, he ſhaved his head, and put on a black wig; he dreſſed himſelf in the garb of the Sans-Culottes *; altered his card of ſafety; changed his

* Did not the hiſtory of the Indies by Hérera probably introduce into France this word Sans-Culotte, which has done ſo

his name, and thus diſguiſed got himſelf introduced into the aſſembly of the jacobins by a friend of his miſtreſs who was a member of it. By theſe means he has obtained the place of clerk to the ſecretary of the ſociety, and is loud in his praiſe of republicaniſm, which he abhors." —"This trait puts me in humour again with him."

"But to return to the editors of the newſpapers; how infamous a trade is theirs: in England they do not proſtitute themſelves thus; we certainly have ſome who are paid by government to ſpeak in its favour; but the people know them, and are not deceived by them; but the newſpaper editor who is not in pay, ſpeaks without reſtraint againſt the miniſters, againſt the parliament, againſt the great people, whenever

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ſo much miſchief, before which every thing has bended the knee, to which books, engravings, and the chefs-d'œuvres of every art have been decided; a name which has been given to our armies, and which has been deified by having conſecrated to it five days of our republican year.

Heréra, in the tenth book of his ſecond volume of the Hiſtory of the Indies, ſays that the Tepeaques have an idol which bears the figure of a man, holding in one hand a ſhield, and in the other an arrow, which theſe ſavages call Camaltzéque, a word which ſignifies a God Sans culotte. This is their divinity, they pray to him with great reſpect, and return him thanks when they have gained a victory.

he ſees any thing deſerving reprehenſion,—and this man is held in eſteem."—" But cannot you ſee a reaſon for this difference? You are not now in the heart of a revolution; you have laws which protect both your ideas and the preſs. But let me aſk you, whether during the protectorate of Cromwell you had any newſpapers printed which durſt throw a ſlur upon his proceedings *? As with us at the preſent moment, you had nothing but decided flatteries, and a few ſecretly circulated pamphlets. In my opinion, the newſpapers are good for nothing but to be read by the idle and the paraſite. The former fills his empty brain with the news which he finds in them, and the latter pays for his dinner by retailing the anecdotes which he has extracted from them in the morning. When the people ſhall become tolerably informed, and the morals

* During the tyranny of Cromwell, as well as during that of Robeſpierre, different publications were iſſued which painted them in their true colours; but the vigilance of both theſe men rendered the publication of ſuch writings very difficult. One appeared in the time of Cromwell, intitled: "*To kill is not to murder:*" by which it was attempted to be proved, that it was juſt to kill the Protector upon any terms whatever. Cromwell read this nervous treatiſe, and was ſo alarmed by it, that he took the moſt ridiculous precautions to avoid being aſſaſſinated; and from the time of his reading it, he ſmiled no more to the day of his death.

purified,

purified, then the newſpapers will be intereſting."

Whilſt we were chatting, the coffee-houſe filled, and they were talking out aloud. "Let us liſten," ſaid I to the Engliſhman.—"How damned ſtupid theſe great revolutioniſts are!" exclaimed a man ſurlily, who was looking at a newſpaper which he held in his hand. Directly all the reſt got round him, and aſked him to what he alluded:—"Theſe raſcally jacobins," ſaid he, "are planning to aggrandize France, at the expence of the pope and the emperor. Read what that ſcoundrel Briſſot ſaid yeſterday in their aſſembly;—'Our armies are every where victorious; let them march on, nor ſtop till they have extended our boundaries on one ſide to the Rhine, and on the other to Pyrenées, and the Alps. Theſe are the only boundaries worthy of the French republic.'—Now you are angry at this propoſal; let us rather thank them that they are ſo moderate. If they knew that Pharamond had held the ſeat of his empire at Treves, they would want to have Pruſſia and a part of Germany; if they knew that France once poſſeſſed on the ſide of Spain Pampeluna and Sarragoſſa, they would claim them; if they

ſuſpected that Saint-Louis had been maſter of Acre, of Caifa, of Ceſaria, of Jafa, and of Tyre, they would ſend their generals to invade Egypt: as Charles, the ſon of Saint-Louis, was maſter of almoſt all Italy, they would have the ſame right to demand back that beautiful country, as well as Avignon. In ſhort, as Spain was governed by Bourbon, grandſon of Louis XIV. that ought without doubt to be reſtored to them."—"Certainly; but then the Engliſh would have the right of claiming what they poſſeſſed in France under Henry V., and Germany what belonged to Charles the Vth."

Theſe ridiculous reflections were interrupted by about a dozen Sans-culottes, who came in with their pipes in their mouths. The maſter of the houſe obſerved to them that they muſt not ſmoak there, that his was a coffee houſe, and not a ſmoaking-ſhop. "We know that as well as you," replied one of them; "we only come ſmoaking to drive away the royaliſt caterpillars that ſwarm here:" and they then ſat down and called for ſome brandy. Fear ſeized all the oppoſite party, and they ſtole off one after another without ſpeaking a word. The Sans culottes laughed and ſaid, "There are cowards; we ſhould not

have

have ſuch an eaſy game of it, if they had a little more courage."

When we left the coffee-houſe, we directed our ſteps towards the convention; it was eleven o'clock, and the doors were not yet open. Whilſt we waited for their ſitting, I took my companion to another coffee-houſe. "This," ſaid I to him, "is juſt the oppoſite of the one we have quitted."—They were talking here quite à la Françaiſe; that is to ſay, they were all talking at once, and we could diſtinguiſh only the words traitors, and royaliſts, jumbled with thoſe of Marat, Rolland, Briſſot, Father Duchêne, &c. &c.—In ſhort, we could underſtand nothing. A man came in, laughing fit to crack his ſides; every body turned towards him, and he ſaid: "I have juſt been witneſs of a republican baptiſm. Thuriot was the child's godfather, and Calon's daughter its god-mother: and I will wager that not one of you can gueſs the three names that have been given to it. The Abbé Fauchet who performed the baptiſm was as much ſurprized as any body *." Every body tried to gueſs, but to no purpoſe; at laſt, tired of their

* I have only tranſpoſed the date. The baptiſm took place on the 25th of March, 1792, at a fête which they then called a civic fête.

divinations, he ſaid, "The child was named *Pétion, National, Pique.*" "You are laughing at us," was the general anſwer. "I ſwear to you it is time," he replied; "I ſaw and heard the ceremony myſelf." They all ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, and called out, "what a contemptible piece of folly!"

At this inſtant a young man carrying a flag paſſed over the terrace of the Tuileries, followed by a great crowd, and a man laden with a kind of pulpit. "Let us make haſte," ſaid I to the Engliſhman.—"Whither are you going to take me?"—"To that young man; he is a walking orator, named Varlet; his brain is ſo turned, that notwithſtanding he is in want, he has quitted the ſtation of clerk to the poſt, to follow this trade by which he gets nothing. On the 10th of Auguſt he appeared on the terrace, where we now ſtand, carrying a flag, on one ſide of which were theſe words, 'Down with the executive power, or ſubmit to the vileſt ſlavery;' and on the other, 'La Fayette is a raſcal, and thoſe who defend him are his accomplices.' Whilſt he was awaiting the general tumult, he was declaiming with great violence, and ended every ſentence with 'See what is written on my flag; I will not

quit

quit it till theſe words are accompliſhed.' At length the cannonade put an end to his oratory."

Having made our way up to the wandering orator, we ſtood liſtening to what he was ſaying; and the following words are part of what he ſaid: "It is to you, my brothers, to whom I addreſs myſelf,—to you who have not the privilege of going into the galleries of the convention, and of hearing thoſe horrid ſpeeches which a hired orator there delivers. Do not envy the lot of thoſe people, who there ſuck in ſeduction, and then come to inoculate it into you; but miſtruſt them. At this moment they are engaged in the trial of the dethroned tyrant: this affair, ſimple as it is in itſelf, is a mine of gold and of intrigues. It is not in a ſmall encloſed place like that in which it is now agitating, that ſuch a ſuit ought to be carried on: it ſhould be in the open air, either in the Champ-de-Mars, or on La Place Carrouſel, in the ſight of all the world. Dread leſt they ſhould take advantage of this ſecret manner of proceeding to ſave him. Send and block up all the entrances to the Convention with thoſe widows who loſt their huſbands before the Tuileries, with thoſe children whoſe fathers the Swiſs guards maſſacred. Let theſe widows and

orphans demand vengeance, and let them be joined in their demand by our noble brothers from the ſuburbs who were wounded on that day. By theſe means we ſhall obtain juſtice through the death of that monſter who has been the devourer of his people; it is the only way by which we can obtain ſatisfaction and revenge. For myſelf, I ſwear to paſs the day and night in calling aloud for his death; and not to lay my flag out of my hand, till he ſhall exiſt no longer. Read the motto it bears,—*Vengeance and juſtice! the death of the tyrant! this is the cry to rally all true republicans!*"

Bravos and clapping of hands followed this ſpeech of Varlet's, who left the crowd and moved on to pour forth his horrid ſentences in ſome freſh quarter.

The Engliſhman caſt at me a heavy eye; and we both heaved a deep ſigh. "This," ſaid he to me, "is the fruit of liberty!"—"Rather ſay of its abuſe, for if we really were enjoying liberty, that young man would be in bedlam. But it is time to enter the aſſembly."

I had procured tickets of admiſſion, ſo we were introduced into the gallery, directly oppoſite to the preſident. A ſecretary was employed in reading

reading congratulations juſt arrived from the departments, in all of which was expreſſed, with more or leſs energy, their deſire to have the king and queen brought to trial. Honourable mentions, and inſertions in the verbal proceſs, were the returns made by the aſſembly to the thanks which were begged for in theſe writings. As I ſaw the members of the commiſſioners of public ſafety and general ſurety coming in one after another, and very haſtily, I ſaid to the Engliſhman, "The ſitting will be intereſting, ſince all the deputies are preſent; and ſee, the chief men are taking their places *."

A petition from the federates who were placed on duty at the convention, contained very lively complaints of the threatenings they every day received from the authors of the maſſacres of September to aſſaſſinate them in their barracks.

The reading of this, which was interrupted by murmurs and applauſe, was followed by a deputation from the commune of Paris, which complained that the city was filling with federates, to whom the arms and cannon of the ſections were

* I have inſerted under the ſame article the reſult of many ſittings, in order to give my readers at one view the phyſiognomy of the Convention, and of the parties who cauſed diviſions in it, and mutually devoured each other.

given.

given. They demanded to have theſe men ſent to the army in Brabant, where they would be of more uſe than in Paris, which was capable of guarding itſelf.

Theſe petitions were from two entirely oppoſite parties, who had each their partizans in the aſſembly.

A number of voices called for the preſident to ſpeak, who anſwered that the miniſter Rolland had ſome explanations to give; and every one immediately took his place again. Rolland requeſted that the federates might remain in Paris, as it was thought that maſſacres were in agitation to which all the members of the commune were not ſtrangers.

Directly about a third of the moſt impetuous of the deputies roſe and exclaimed, ſome againſt the federates and the miniſter, and ſome againſt the Commune. This indecent confuſion laſted nearly a quarter of an hour, during which the ſervants of the Convention were running about calling out ſilence,and the preſident was ringing his bell, whoſe ſhrill and clattering tongue added not a little to the noiſe. He broke two at this ſitting. During this ſhameful quarter of an hour, the deputies were abuſing each other, threatening one

another

another with their fiſts, running confuſedly into the *tribune**, where they crouded upon one another, collared each other, and threw one another down. One of them, Louvet, kept himſelf ſteady, and by his firmneſs at leaſt obtained ſilence, and a hearing.

In a ſpeech full of gall and truth, he accuſed the commune of wanting to uſurp all power, and Robeſpierre of aiming at the dictatorſhip. Although he was interrupted in every ſentence by invectives, he ſhewed no emotion, but reproached Danton, Marat, and Robeſpierre, of having been intirely uſeleſs on the days of the 10th of Auguſt, but very active on thoſe of September. "And yet you now ſee them," exclaimed he, "wanting to ſcreen under the cloak of indulgence the maſſacre in the priſons, and to gather all the fruits of the overthrow of the throne, by uſurping all the power. Has not Marat himſelf written and publiſhed to prove that a dictatorſhip was neceſſary? and at the ſame time Marat talked of the virtues of Robeſpierre."

"Yes it is true," called out Marat, "that I once recommended the dictatorſhip to be given

* *Tribune*—the place from which they ſpoke. *Tranſlator's Note.*

to

to Robeſpierre as a reward for his ſervices;" and here he ran out into a long eulogium upon this horrid tyrant; "but the times are changed, and I would now be the firſt to run a poniard into the breaſt of the man who ſhould aim at that place: but I will alſo oppoſe with all my might the eſtabliſhment of that power in the departments, propoſed by theſe ſtateſmen, (pointing to the right ſide of the preſident,) in order to cruſh whomſoever are neither *Girondins*, nor *Briſſotins*, nor *Federaliſtes* nor *Rollandiſtes*."

"The time will come," ſaid Barbaroux, "when you will know what conſpiracies we wove to overthrow the throne of Louis XVI. But why not ſpeak out now? Were any of you, who want to-day to govern this convention and the people, with us at Charenton when our conſpiracy againſt the court, which was to have been put in execution on the 29th of July, but which did not take place till the 10th of Auguſt, was put a ſtop to? No; fear kept you all locked in your own houſes."

The word *conſpirators* having been heard, Guadet ran into the tribune, and pronounced with a menacing voice this ſentence, "I ſhould like to know what member there is here, who would

would be offended at hearing himſelf called a conſpirator of the bleſſed 10th of Auguſt. I myſelf am a conſpirator. It was I who propoſed the meaſures by which the throne was hurled down!"

Chabot, the ex-capuchin, ſpeaking from his ſeat, ſaid, "Without doubt you organized the 10th of Auguſt; I was of the number of the conſpirators againſt the throne, and I glory in it. Who ſhowed himſelf more warmly dedicated to the cauſe than myſelf? I offered my head in order to level that of the crowned traitor*. But that is of no

* The fact which Chabot here refers to is not ſufficiently known but that it may be repeated again. The day of the 20th of June had been in juſtice found ſo horrible, that it re-eſtabliſhed a part of the authority of the king. If he had known how to profit by the time, he might juſt then have re-eſtabliſhed his kingdom. Enraged at this confidence which was granting to the king, three deputies, Chabot, Merlin de Thionville, and Baſire, could invent no means to undo him, but to blacken his character with the murder of a deputy. All three reſolved upon ſacrificing themſelves, and drew lots to determine which of them ſhould be aſſaſſinated by the other two. The lot fell upon Chabot; "This evening," ſaid he, "I will be at the corner of La Place de Carrouſel, and of the Rue de L'Echelle; you ſhall blow my brains out and then raiſe a cry that the king has had me aſſaſſinated. The people will riſe; and when they ſhall be ſufficiently heated, put my head upon the end of a pike to ſerve them as a ſtandard, and lead the way

no import now. The queſtion is whether we are all acting towards the ſame point, the eſtabliſhing of the republic on a firm baſis; and I ſay it with heart-felt grief, there are amongſt us men who are ſuſpected of only having dethroned the king in order to lay hold themſelves of his authority; and theſe men are Briſſot, and the deputation of la Gironde. Let me beg of you to put an end to your diſagreement; proceed to judgment upon the tyrant; you have the right and the power."

Bourdon de L'Oiſe.—"Nothing is more eaſy, —the cannon of the federates is the jury of accuſation; the impriſonment of Louis is the jury of judgment; the national convention is the tribunal authoriſed to put in force the law."

Saint-Juſt.—"I maintain that the king ought to be treated as an enemy. Cæſar was aſſaſſinated in full ſenate without any form except twenty-two poniards."

Geoffroi.—"This is the form I propoſe; Let the king know that the people wiſh his death;

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way them to the palace, for to revenge my death upon the king and his family." But the blow miſſed its aim, as Merlin and Baſire did not come to the place of appointment.

and

and let this wiſh be carried to him by three children, and three old men."

Legendre.—" This is my opinion; That the tyrant ought to be cut into eighty-three pieces, one of which ſhould be ſent to each department in order to make the royaliſts tremble."

Cambon.—" It is my advice that Louis XVI. be hanged this night."

All theſe horrid ſentiments, for which France bluſhes, were delivered in the midſt of the greateſt tumult, vociferations and imprecations from the tribunes. Many deputies wanted to ſpeak; but ſcarcely a ſentence they uttered could be heard. Kerſaint and ſome others maintained that it was not the province of the convention to try the king. Languinais ſaid, " We cannot act as his judges ſince we give our opinion beforehand, and ſome amongſt us even with a moſt ſcandalous ferocity. We have by no means the appearance of deliberating in the boſom of a liberal convention; we appear to be diſputing beneath the poniards and cannons of mutineers."

In ſhort, after four hours not of debating, but of diſputing and threatening, ſeveral decrees were iſſued. " The penalty of death againſt whomſoever ſhould ſtir up ſedition or murder."

"The inſtituting of a proceſs againſt the aſſaſſins of the priſons." Laſtly a decree, which "empowered the convention to try the king."

After this laſt decree, Marat (Marat! Who muſt have been poſſeſſed of the devil) aſtoniſhed every body by his moderation. He demanded that no grievances anterior to the acceptation of the new conſtitution be placed in the act. This motion was neither attended to, nor produced any effect.

A deputy, whoſe name I do not know, complained of the hardſhip with which Louis XVI. was treated. "You are going," ſaid he, "even to ſeparate him from his family; I demand that he be permitted, by a decree, to have free communication with it." And the decree was paſſed with ſcarcely any oppoſition.

Tallien, one of the oppoſition, ſaid that the commune would not execute the decree. This awkward declaration laid open to view the aim of that authority, and provoked freſh and very violent debates. Tallien, diſappointed, excuſed himſelf lamely; which did not prevent his being cenſured by the preſident in the name of the convention: but he nevertheleſs got his aim; for the decree was modified, and they reſtrained

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the liberty they had given the king to that of ſolely ſeeing his children, who from that moment were deprived all communication with their mother.

The ſitting then broke up, and we left the place.

" This then is the aſſembly which makes kings tremble on their thrones," Lord Bedfort ſaid to me with a ſorrowful voice. " Without doubt you muſt call it a tumultuous ſitting! How I pity the French nation! For what good can ſhe expect from a body of legiſlators whoſe head is a volcano, and whoſe mouth is a furnace, which eructs fiery exhalations, capable of ſetting the whole globe in a blaze? Not one of theſe whom we have juſt heard, has made ſuch a ſpeech, as was no uncommon thing in your conſtituent aſſembly; and in which Mirabeau, Les Atauries, and many more had the art of ſetting before their auditors a rapid ſucceſſion of ideas which, notwithſtanding they might be chimæras, ſtill hung ſo well upon each other, that they formed a chain that proved a magic circle to divert thoſe minds which they cannot convince. If your orators of the preſent day think that the proof of their energy and ſtrength of mind con-

fists in brutal apostrophes, menacing gestures, and a million repetitions of words of the new creation, and of which we are the inventors, such as *motions*, *insurrections*,* &c. &c. Certainly they succeeded admirably just now."

"I should not have thought that an Englishman, above all a member of the opposition, would have been surprised at a tumult in an assembly. I am sure the sessions of your parliament, particularly your house of commons, has more than once presented the same scene we have just been witnessing."—"I am sorry to avow it, but you are too much in the right; I have myself given into excesses which I heartily repent at

* Lord Bedfort is mistaken; the word *insurrection* is not of English creation. Montesquieu says in his *Recherches des ancient Governemens* that *insurrection* was consecrated by a law in Crete. It appears that since those remote times no nation had used it till the revolution in England: it signifies in English a rising of the people, or of a part of the people. In our time, the united states of America used it when they threw off the yoke, and most likely it would never have reached us, if La Fayette, whom the French people call the hero of the new world, and of liberty, had not said that insurrection was the most sacred of duties. This new maxim made rapid and dreadful strides in France. It is through it that the ambitious have produced misery, and so often caused the sun of France to set in blood. Those who wish it may refer to the dictionary of words invented during the revolution, and collected by Rivarol. The renowned Bréon is one of those who created the most words.

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this moment."—"What does all this prove, but that men who in private are poſſeſſed of the greateſt ſhare of reaſon, are often the moſt furious when in a public aſſembly? As Mirabeau ſaid, 'You muſt eat what comes out of the kitchen, but not look at the kitchen.' Now to-day, notwithſtanding the tumult of which we have been witneſs, have not ſome ſalutary decrees iſſued from theſe volcaniſed heads? One frights him who has his eye upon the dictatorſhip; another puts a ſtop to the ambitious exceſſes of the municipality of Paris. One benumbs thoſe who were meditating plunder and murder; another exacts that the murderers of the priſons be puniſhed."—"Well, well, we muſt allow then that it is a beneficial rain which falls from the boſom of the tempeſt; but what ſay you to the decree concerning the king?"—"Nothing yet; we muſt await its reſult, and whatever it be, the whole nation will not be reſponſible for it. Theſe grand events cannot be judged of with coolneſs, except by poſterity. Centuries muſt paſs away before all party warmth has loſt its heat. I refer you to your own hiſtory; the cataſtrophe of Charles I. is ſtill ſeen with an eye of prejudice. In ſhort, he who would coolly and

philoſophically examine all the ſteps of the revolution, muſt act according to the advice of the late marquis of Laſſey, to 'ſwallow a toad every morning, that he may not be diſguſted with any thing the reſt of the day."—" I'll follow his advice, though not exactly to the letter."

Being dinner time, we went into an eating-houſe in the garden of the Jacobins. At this houſe patriots of all deſcriptions aſſembled, and amongſt them ſome very curious characters. I warned my companion of the party ſpirit that prevailed here, begging him not to attract notice by any orders in the dinner way which might bring upon us the ſcandal of theſe ſons of Sparta. In order to be in the way of hearing whatever was paſſing, we placed ourſelves in the midſt of that immenſe and gloomy room, which was heretofore the refectory of the monks.

We had ſcarcely ſat down when a man at the next table aſked us if we came from the aſſembly, and what had been done there? Alarm leſt the Engliſh accent of my companion ſhould draw ſuſpicion upon him, made me ſpeak myſelf and relate what had been ſaid there. I had only ſpoken a few words when another man who was getting his dinner at a table a little way off,

off, interrupted me; "We are all eager for an account of that intereſting ſitting," ſaid he, "Do us the favour of ſpeaking a little louder that we may all hear you. Silence, citizens, and attention!" Though I was not much pleaſed with the taſk impoſed on me, I attempted to go through it with a good grace, and above all to ſpeak in conformity to the patriotic ſpirit which ran through the aſſembly of my liſteners. After I had talked for half an hour, I thought I had done very handſomely and might now be at liberty to ſatisfy my craving appetite; but I had ſcarcely time to ſwallow a draught, before they aſked me innumerable queſtions relative to my account, to which I was obliged to anſwer. Happily for me a good humoured fellow at the bottom of the room called out at laſt, "We are abuſing the citizen's complaiſance a great deal too much; don't you ſee he has not dined?" and directly I recognized the voice of our commiſſary. Every body called out, "Very true, very right," and I was left in quiet to get my dinner.

Every one made reflections on the ſitting. "See," ſaid one, "the coalition of all theſe Girondins who pretend that they alone brought about the revolution on the tenth of Auguſt.

Their aim I well knew was the eſtabliſhment of a republic. After the flight of the king to Verennes, they tried to bring it on. Pétion, Bugot, Briſſot and Robeſpierre, in a cabal held at Rolland's, diſcuſſed the means. There it was reſolved to ſound the minds of the people and to prepare them for a republican government. To this end they cauſed to appear the paper called The *Republicain;* Condorcet and Briſſot, the Genevian Dumont, and the officer Duchâtel, were appointed its editors. But the bad reception which it met with from the public obliged it to be laid aſide after the ſecond paper. Payne and Condorcet alſo propoſed plans which were diſcuſſed by thoſe who now want to uſurp all power.

"The recollection of Miltiades' death, Ariſtides' baniſhment, and Socrates' draught of hemlock, made ſome ſicken at the idea of an Athenian republic; they wiſhed for the patriciate of Rome, which was oppoſed by the others. They reſolved to take for their model the lateſt formed of the Republican ſtates, that of United America. You perceive, citizens, that it is a federative republic that the Girondins wiſh to eſtabliſh, and this we muſt not allow."

"Without

"Without doubt," called out another, "and I take upon me to make a motion this evening at the Jacobin aſſembly to demand a decree from the convention which ſhall declare the French republic One and Indiviſible."

"Bravo, that's right.—Add equal, thus we ſhall know no ſuperiority."

"Take care," ſaid a man, who had not appeared to take any intereſt in what was paſſing, "that this ſyſtem of equality does not overturn that of liberty. With equality how will you balance power?"—"The balance of power is ariſtocratic, and we will have none of that—Beſides, why turn over the leaves of hiſtory to ſeek for the form of a republic? Why not create one of our own liking, and ſay with Brutus,

'*We imitate none, but profit by the examples of all.*'

"In half a dozen words I will lay before you the forms of the republican ſtates, ancient as well as modern. Look firſt at Greece; Lacedemon had a dynaſty, and a ſenate compoſed of nobles. The people wanted to put a check upon their power, and created the Epheri, to oppoſe the authority of the nobles. Their firſt labour was to reviſe the laws of Lycurgus, but they did it

with ſo little ſkill, that they cauſed a univerſal confuſion, and ended by getting the dominion into their own hands. This example ought to caution you to be watchful over your repreſentatives, leſt they imitate the Epheri.

" At Carthage the government was monarchical in its Suffetes; ariſtocratic in the ſenate; its aſſemblies of the people ſolely gave it the air of democracy. It was upon this that the Engliſh government was grafted.

" The Athenians, to whom the French are ſaid to bear reſemblance in their politeneſs, their activity, and their vivacity, lived under a government which the unreflecting miſtook for a democracy; but its archons rendered it ariſtocratic; moſt of the laws of Solon gave a proof of it.

" Rome which you ſo much boaſt of, and quote at random upon all occaſions, enjoyed a republican government but 116 years, from the ruin of Carthage to the battle of Actium. And what kind of republic was that which diſtinguiſhed the plebeians from the patricians, and had its ſlaves? what kind of a republic was that, which conſidered only the citizens of Rome, and treated with deſpotiſm, by means of its proconſuls, the inhabitants of the Roman provinces? What kind

of

of a republic in ſhort was that, which allowed the eſtabliſhment of a dictatorſhip when the deliberations of the people no longer pleaſed the ſenate?

"As for the republics now in being, there is America, which has a federative government; Switzerland, which is a mixture of imperfect ariſtocracy, and democracy; England, which is a monarchical republic; Venice, Genoa, ariſtocratically governed by their doges, and their nobles; Geneva, from whoſe heart the people cannot root out ariſtocracy. There are ſtill Rajuſa, Lucca, and Saint-Marino: theſe ſmall republics, particularly the laſt, are the only ones which approach at all to the one we wiſh to eſtabliſh.

"Thus, as not of theſe eſtates agrees in form with our ſyſtem, it would be better to prevent their being quoted to us as examples upon all occaſions. While the throne ſtill exiſted, it was neceſſary in order to form an oppoſition; but now we ought only to talk of their heroes, and their great actions, in order to inſpire courage. For example, at the moment they are debating on the ſentence of the tyrant, ſet before their eyes Scævola, and Brutus with the poniard in his

his hand. This I take upon myſelf to do this evening at the aſſembly of the Cordeliers."

Our commiſſary joined us at this moment, and we left theſe chatterers. "Well, my lord, you have juſt had a ſample of the cunning uſed by our leading men: is it poſſible to repreſent hiſtorical facts more artfully, and more ſkilfully to pervert the truth?"—"I allow that I am aſtoniſhed," ſaid Lord B. "this young man appears to me the more blameable as he ſeems to have knowledge."—"Aye and good ſenſe; he is the *Moliere* of our age, the author of Philinte, and many other charming comedies."—"I ſhould not have thought that his ideas would have been ſo extravagant."—"They are not in reality; it is ambition that actuates his conduct. Were you to hear him reaſon in private, he would prove to you that a republic cannot exiſt in a country like France; but he would add, 'It is the whim of the day; one muſt give into it, and humour the conceits of the people; this is the only way to come to preferment.' This is what he wrote a few days ago to one of his friends who communicated to me the contents of his letter.

"Of

"Of all the ſtates according to my opinion France is the leaſt adapted to democracy. I have reflected cloſely, I have digeſted my reflections; the national character, the lightneſs of their minds, the licentiouſneſs of their morals, in ſhort the entire ſtate of France is ill ſuited to the ſolid eſtabliſhment of a republic. Only look at what has happened ſince the beginning of our revolution, or to ſpeak more plainly, according to the words of Mirabeau, ſince the muzzle has been taken off the people. Scarcely did they learn the ſecret of their own power, before they abuſed it. As ſoon as they heard of equality, they wanted to be ſovereign: and this ſovereignty they would change into deſpotiſm. In a ſhort time deſpotiſm would be changed into tyranny, and contempt of the laws; and then anarchy would infallibly follow. To ſay what might be the reſult after this, is no eaſy matter; it would either be the entire ſubverſion of ſocial order, or its effectual re-eſtabliſhment by a ſuperior race.—Nature diſturbed brings forth miracles.

"Only take a view of the different claſſes of ſociety, now France is what they call regenerated—what do you obſerve? The nobles and prieſts fled—the gold and ſilver partly in the hands

hands of foreign powers, partly hidden in the earth —the artiſt without employment—the manufactures ſhut up—the ſhopkeeper without trade—the bourgeois without an income—the labourer without work—the ſervant without a place—the journeyman without hire—the creditor without payment—the prieſt without reſpect—the magiſtrate deſpiſed—the honeſt man in tremor—the good citizen without ſafety—laſtly, the poor without reſource. If any complaints are made; the plaintiffs are ſilenced by an emphatic ſpeech telling them that they muſt of neceſſity ſuffer in order to procure good for poſterity; as if the preſent was of leſs conſequence than the future, as if the good of the ſucceeding generation could be enſured by the miſery of the one actually exiſting.

"You are going to reply to me without doubt, that all the French prove their wealth by their expences, and their love of the republic by their enthuſiaſm. Do not deceive yourſelf; what you take for wealth are the laſt dregs of each man's coffer; their expences are merely confined to a continual putting forth of that paper money, the abundance of which will finally ruin the individual, and leave government

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in want. That conſtant agitation which you take for enthuſiaſm, is merely a tormenting reſtleſſneſs to which the ſtate of the times gives birth, and a daily deceived hope of their becoming better.

" You are ſurpriſed, I ſee, to hear this language held by a man who is preaching up the benefits of the revolution, and a deputy appointed to act in its ſupport. Poor blind mortals, only reflect one moment! What is the globe? It has been anſwered to this queſtion till men are tired of it, a vaſt theatre upon which every being is an actor. The greater part of mankind live and die in performing the part which has been caſt to them. But the man of genius, whom glory or ambition animates, ought to know how to ſuſtain every part, and play every character. The confuſion which has prevailed in France for the laſt four years has given ſuch a man an opportunity of raiſing up his head. After having played in a tribune the part of a frantic demagogue, he may nevertheleſs be a peaceful monarchian in his family; as an actor who had juſt been playing the character of a tyrant may be a very good kind of man off the ſtage. What is the real aim of both? Why, to increaſe their income, and

make a fortune. Sometimes, indeed, they make a bad end of it, eſpecially when they have not ſuited their character to their ability for ſupporting it. The actor then is hiſſed, and obliged to make his way with many hootings through the crowd of byſtanders. I hope this misfortune will never happen to me *. I ſhall not be too laviſh of my powers, I ſhall only uſe them in caſes of neceſſity, or when I ſhall deem it expedient to give freſh ſpirit to the popularity I have already gained. Truſt to me. He who compoſed the Philinte of Moliere, after four million originals, ought to know the human heart."

"What you tell me is almoſt incredible," ſaid my lord, after having read the extract from D'Eglantine's letter. "I hope this is the only man of his kind in your aſſembly."—"It is to be wiſhed indeed," replied the commiſſary with a ſigh; "but there are ſome, very few indeed, who conſider the republic as a new worſhip, of which they are appointed the miniſters, who preach the

* Fabre d'Eglantine deceived himſelf in his reckoning, and made his end, as he deſerved, upon a ſcaffold, not as a victim of the revolution, but as a prevaricator and extortioner. In the affair of the India company he received an hundred thouſand franks, for a forgery, in which he was diſcovered, and puniſhed with death.

happineſs

happineſs of this government without believing in it, and who take every poſſible means of enriching themſelves with all ſpeed, leſt a change ſhould take place, and deprive them of the power. Danton, for example, is of this number. According to him, the revolution is only a rich mine from which every one muſt dig what he can. For his part he has worked at it with great earneſtneſs. Happening to be one of the adminiſtrators of juſtice, he began by appropriating to his own uſe, three beautiful horſes with their harneſs, and an elegant berlin. Deſboulets to whom the whole belonged, reclaimed them in vain. Danton ſaid that he ought to have emigrated, and that in ſuch caſe, his property belonged to the nation. Dreading leſt worſe ſhould befall him, Deſboulets held his tongue. Inſtead of putting theſe things in the charge of the republic, when he quitted his miniſtry, Danton kept them, and ſold them for his own profit, during a miſſion which he had into Belgia.

" At the time of this miſſion, he was accuſed with his colleague La Croix of having converted a number of articles to his own profit. What is certain is, that he had two chariots heavily laden with furniture ſeized, and ſent them to his country

country houſe. The letter of carriage which he gave to thoſe who had the care of them, mentioned only ſome furniture; but when they were viſited, money, plate, and ingots were found hid under them. Every thing was ſeized without his venturing to make any oppoſition, or accuſe the perſons who had them in charge.

"In order to give you more proofs of theſe diſhoneſt tranſactions, I ſhall tell you two other anecdotes.

"The general L'Ecuyer had the command in Belgia during the miſſion of Danton and De la Croix. This man was deprived of his office, thrown into priſon, falſified before the revolutionary tribunal, tried, and condemned to die.

"All the time that he was on his way to execution, he called out without ceaſing to the people, 'Don't truſt Danton and De la Croix, they are two raſcals; they ſaid to me when I had the command, "kill, pillage, and we will ſhare it." I liſtened to them, aud now they take away my life.'

"At the time when the offices of adminiſtrators of the national domains, prior to the nomination of the miniſter of the public contributions, were going to be beſtowed by the convention, it

was

was hinted to Danton to propoſe the famous Dubail des Fontaines; a worthy, wiſe, and diſintereſted man. He anſwered, "What the devil ſhould that be for? He would be ſet in the midſt of a pile of gold where he would not know what to do. He may be a very proper perſon twenty years hence; but juſt now we want people that finiſh things at a blow. *(This anecdote was found in the papers of Briſſot.)*

"I ſhall diſmiſs Danton, with telling you that he was ſuſpected of having ſtolen the jewels from the wardrobe. I am far from accuſing him myſelf; but what is very particular is, that Rolland, who was himſelf accuſed of this theft, openly charged him with it, ſaying that he paid for the maſſacres in the priſons with their produce: and it is well known that Danton was concerned in theſe cruel events. Farther, I will give you part of a private converſation with the exminiſter Rolland, which may ſerve as a public reply to the calumny of his accuſers.

"If I may judge by the characters of my accuſers, and by the nature of their calumnies, ſuch a contrivance could have originated only in minds already corrupt, and in the hearts of men who had an intereſt in propagating it. Every body knows

that from the moment the wardrobe was put under my care, as miniſter of the interior, till that of the diſcovery of the theft of the diamonds, I did not ceaſe to complain both verbally and in writing, to the commandant of the national guard of Paris, and to that of the ſection, of the careleſs manner in which this valuable truſt was guarded, and to inform them that ſometimes it was not guarded at all; that I always added a formal requeſt for a watchful and permanent armed force to be ſtationed near it, without my complaints, or my demands, which were frequently during that interval laid before the legiſlative body itſelf, producing any effect.

"At length the theft took place; and Camus, the keeper of the records, at the head of a patrol was the firſt that diſcovered it, and at the ſame time took up two men as the thieves, whom it may be gueſſed from the event of their trial, were but very ſecondary agents in the buſineſs.

"At that time I had never opened the wardrobe; the ſeals were ſtill every where unbroken, and I was abſolutely ignorant of what the jewels conſiſted, and in what part of this immenſe palace they were depoſited.

"Thiery,

"Thiery, the ci-devant guard of this truſt was thrown into priſon; it fell upon me to name a new guardian; I well knew Pache; he had paſſed about three weeks under me in my firſt miniſtry.

"A modeſt appearance, a ſoft manner, an air of prudence, his love of juſtice, the civiſm which he on all occaſions diſplayed, and the diſintereſtedneſs which he teſtified, in ſhort the tout-enſemble of this man, made me judge him fit for the office; and I thought that this choice, from which I doubted not would reſult an active, prudent, and faithful diſcharge of the duty required, muſt be approved by every body; I accordingly named Pache; and he accepted the office. Two days after he told me how great was the diſintereſtedneſs of his feelings, and his love of independence; he ſpoke to me as if alarmed at the reſponſibility he had undertaken, and that the guardianſhip of a depoſit of ſo great value made him uneaſy. A more vague office ſeemed better to ſuit his diſpoſition, where he was not bound down by any reſponſibility of the nature of his preſent function.

"I was embarraſſed, for I know nothing more diſtreſſing to a man in place, than the having to

chooſe his ſubordinates, and I confided to Pache the election of ſome one to replace him in the office he wiſhed to quit; he pointed out to me Reſtout, whom I did not know; he went in ſearch of him, and brought him to me; and I appointed Reſtout. He poſſeſſed, according to Pache, ſenſe, courage, talents, and patriotiſm.

"I could not help thinking then, and I think ſo ſtill, that Pache's friend did not appear, any more than himſelf to have the activity neceſſary in all kinds of public buſineſs, nor that acuteneſs of mind, which knows how to profit by that which ſuits its purpoſe, without waſting its time on that from which it can derive no benefit; and which has the art of ſupporting underlings without offending any one. In time all would have been properly arranged, and in the immenſe number of different plans which were forming, this would not have been forgotten. But I muſt avow that the ſolicitude of Reſtout for the ſafety of the treaſure committed to his care was unrelaxing; and that I firmly believe him to have been of the greateſt honeſty. Nevertheleſs Reſtout is put in a ſtate of arreſt, and ſuſpicion babbles againſt him; and I am accuſed of the theft of the jewels. By whom? By Collot, Fabre, and Marat. I

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ſhall not name thoſe vile beings, already too well known by their infamies, whoſe names are a blot in the liſt of the members of the convention, and whoſe perſons are a ſoil in humanity!

"Without doubt this hardy blow muſt be a link of ſome long chain which binds a deep conſpiracy; and I ſhall never doubt but that it was connected with the bloody buſineſs of the ſame month, and that its produce has ſerved the ſecret directors of theſe crimes to pay their agents, to enrich their accomplices, and afford themſelves power to avoid the inveſtigation and the puniſhment of their crimes.

"In this tone of mind, and after theſe ſteps, what remained to be done! To throw theſe crimes upon thoſe whoſe penetration they feared; in ſhort to ſacrifice their lives, as being men who if they did not perſecute them, might at leaſt be ſufficiently courageous to point them out.

"Poſterity may gather from this anecdote, the extent to which may be carried the impudence of lying, and the audaciouſneſs of crimes *."

It was now the hour to go to the club of the Cordeliers, whither Lord Bedfort had aſked us

* Briſſot wrote down this converſation, and this was copied from the original.

to take him. As we were going into the gallery, Fabre d'Eglantine ſaw our commiſſary, came up to him, ſhook him by the hand, and took us all into the hall. Do not expect that I ſhould give a minute account of this ſitting, I ſhall only give you its heads; but firſt of all I ſhall preſent you with a ſketch of the ſcene that met my eyes upon going in. A tolerably large chapel ſerved for the meeting of this ſociety, where, notwithſtanding the mutilations which had been made in it, were ſtill to be ſeen ſome arched pavement, and traces of its former devout uſe. The form of this place was an oval cut off at the ends, and ſurrounded with wooden benches in the manner of an amphitheatre, and ſurmounted with galleries; the oval was divided in length on one ſide by the deſk of the preſident, and on the other by the tribune of the orators. About three hundred people of every age and ſex were aſſembled in this place, and their dreſs was ſo negligent and ſo dirty that they muſt have been miſtaken for a troop of beggars. Behind the preſident was nailed up againſt the wall, a table containing a declaration of the rights of man, ſurmounted by two croſſed daggers. On each ſide of this were placed the buſts of Brutus and William Tell, which appeared to be

be ſet there to guard the table. Oppoſite to theſe, behind the tribune, were placed to anſwer them the heads of Mirabeau and Helvetius, with that of J. J. Rouſſeau in the centre; and theſe were ſurmounted with heavy ruſty chains in feſtoons; I was told that theſe chains were taken out of the Baſtile; but I learnt ſince that they were bought on the quay de la Feraille.

A man in a wrapping coat of coarſe cloth was in the tribune. We were informed that it was Hébert, better known by the name of father Duchéne; the mild appearance of his countenance belied the atrocity of his heart; "For four yours," ſaid he, "we have been aiming to deſtroy the edifice of ancient royalty, and the bleſſed tenth of Auguſt has torn up for us the laſt ſtone of its foundation; but that is not enough, we muſt annihilate the materials, leſt they be again built up. This is the queſtion at the preſent moment. The crowned tyrant ſtill exiſts; a party is forming in the boſom of the convention to ſave him; and a thouſand artifices are at this moment uſing to enſure its ſucceſs. Let us tear off the maſks from theſe traitors, and let us not reſt till they mount the ſcaffold with him!"—"Name them," was exclaimed from all parts of the

chapel. "Briſſot and Rolland are the principals," he returned.

"Let them die," was the general cry.

Montmoro.—"You ought not to ſuffer here in your aſſembly any individual who has been attached to the ancient government, not even his image. In the papers of the tyrant it has been proved that Mirabeau was ſold to him, and that Helvetius had received preſents from his court; in conſequence of this I demand that their buſts be no longer ſeen in this aſſembly." "Bravo," exclaimed the people, and without any further debate many of them ran, and took down the buſts which they daſhed upon the floor, and broke into a thouſand pieces.

After this curious performance, which took place amidſt the ſhouts and applauſes of the galleries, Chamutte appeared in the tribune. "You have juſt deſtroyed the images of two men whom the land of liberty bluſhes to have given birth to. But in order that no trace of them may remain, I demand that we ſend immediately to our brothers the Jacobins to require of them to baniſh from the boſom of their aſſembly the buſts of theſe two men; and that they ſend deputies to the national convention to demand of them to give orders that

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theſe buſts be removed from every public place where they may now happen to be. I further demand that all the Cordeliers change the names which they received in baptiſm to thoſe of the republicans of Greece or of Rome. I myſelf was named Pierre-Gaſpard, becauſe my godfather believed in the ſaints; but ſince the revolution, I have taken the name of a man who was hanged for his republican principles; I now call myſelf Anaxagoras."

In an inſtant all the members, rebaptiſed themſelves. Theſe are they whoſe names I remember, Chauffard took the name of Publicola; Valcourt, Ariſtides; Brichet, Brutus; Danton, Horatius; Lacombe, Scævola; Deſtival, Decius.

Ronſin,—"Before we ſeparate, my friends and brothers, forget not to take meaſures for bringing the tyrant to judgment. His crimes are known, and they debate whether or not to puniſh him. There are now no more privileges, nor privileged men; equality has put all men upon a level. The diſtinctions which they wiſh to make in his favour are a crime which attacks the rights of all citizens. Strike a grand blow to make them feel it! I demand that the declaration of the rights of man be covered with a funeral

neral veil till this tyrant ſhall have received his juſt puniſhment."

This ridiculous motion was received with an enthuſiaſm which approached almoſt to madneſs. We ſaw that it was a predetermined thing, for a large black crape was in the place in readineſs; the table was covered with it, and ſimilar pieces were hung over the buſts of Brutus and of Tell.

"This precaution is a good leſſon to ſtateſmen," ſaid Marat, "but not a ſufficient one. Paris is full of ſtrangers and royaliſts who, diſguiſed in the honourable dreſs of the Sans-Culottes, are only awaiting a favourable moment to ſave Capet and his family. I have been told of ſeveral, of whom I have given a deſcription which I have ſigned to the commune. A woman named Laſalle, formerly the miſtreſs of the Colonel de Rieux, is everymonth going backwards and forwards from Paris to Bruſſels, the courtizan du Barry has made many voyages to London; a man called Reda, a bully in the Swiſs guards in 1760, is here as an emiſſary from England; Chaſtenai, an officer of Artois, is arrived here from Coblentz as a ſpy. The domiciliary viſits are not ſufficient for diſcovering all counter-revolutioniſts.

Every good citizen muſt denounce ſuch as he knows. When our country is in danger denunciation is a virtue; the love of liberty purifies every action. When by theſe means we ſhall have laid hold upon, or put to flight our enemies, we ſhall have no farther need for quarrelling with the deſpot. Then if they ſtill maintain that the cauſe of their brother Louis is their cauſe, we will raiſe up the people of every country; and by a coalition like this we ſhall eaſily bring them to reaſon. I promiſe, in my firſt paper, to raiſe up for the people a ſhield of defence againſt kings * !"

I cannot expreſs the wild delirium which was produced by this ſpeech of Marat, that man poſſeſſed of the devil. They all talked at once, each denouncing ſomebody; every body had met an enemy whom he had known by ſome mark or other; and one man even ſaid that he had the evening before, met in the ſtreet the king of Sweden, who had been dead a year. The ſecretaries not being ſufficient to take note of all theſe denunciations, each individual was told to come to the deſk and write down his denunciation himſelf. This infamous liſt cauſed the death of

* Marat edited a newſpaper.

many

many good citizens. We took the opportunity of this tumult to leave the place, and to go to the mother ſociety.

"What a den of antropophagi is this club of Cordeliers," ſaid to us Lord Bedfort. "It appears as if all the raſcals of the earth were collected here to meditate upon the deſtruction of the human race. Poor France! how much do I pity thy fate; in the power of ſuch monſters, thou wilt ſhortly be only a pile of death. Whoever is not a victim will become an executioner. Let us fly from it, let us fly from it with all poſſible ſpeed. Ah, gentlemen, how I pity you for being Frenchmen! why do you not leave your country?"

"Too many honeſt men have already left it," I replied to the Engliſhman's queſtion, "if thoſe millions which have emigrated had remained, you would not have heard what has to-day cauſed you ſo much horror. If thieves were to come into your houſe to pull it down after they had pillaged it, and murdered all its inhabitants would you leave it and fly? No; without doubt you would call together all your people, to drive out the invaders. This is exactly our caſe. When all thoſe, who have emigrated, ſaw ambitious

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men guiding the helm of the revolution, and ſapping not only the abuſes of our government, but the government itſelf, why did they not oppoſe them inſtead of flying from them? You would not then have ſighed over the preſent picture of things. And had they not come off conquerors even their defeat would have covered them with glory. There are ſtill ſufficient good citizens in France, if they would but unite and exert themſelves to extinguiſh theſe flames of diſcord whom you have juſt ſeen and heard. But I grieve to ſay that the honeſt man wants courage, the robber has it, and profits by it."

"You think what you have juſt heard very extraordinary, but it is only a repetition of what exiſted with you. Our levelling Cordeliers, created and ſupported by Orleans, are only a repetition of your Red Brothers raiſed by Cromwell *. Theſe are merely machines which break of

* The compariſon is not perfect; this is the diſtinction. The Cordeliers wanted equality founded in nature, whilſt the Red Brothers eſtabliſhed it upon the principles of Jeſus Chriſt, whom they took for their guide. The Cordeliers indiviſibly ſupported Orleans, whilſt the Red Brothers ſaw a faction, called Levellers, proceed from them, who attempted to deſtroy Cromwell. But he prevented their plans. Having heard that the Levellers held a ſecret meeting, he appeared there at the head of his red regiment; and taking advantage of

of themſelves, when they aim at the deſtruction of their leaders. We are now going to the Jacobins, and I muſt warn you before hand that there is a great difference in theſe two aſſemblies; their ſentiments are not exactly the ſame. It is always to be dreaded that the Jacobins ſhould ſuffer the Cordeliers to get the upper hand of them; that is the aim of him who united them. I ſee, however, with pleaſure that hitherto no Jacobin has had himſelf received a Cordelier."

"I do not underſtand this diſtinction; will you explain it to me?" I begged the commiſſary to do it for me; ſo it is to him that I am indebted for this account.

The commiſſary.—"The ſociety of Jacobins, which is alſo called the mother-ſociety, as being the firſt formed, or friends of the conſtitution, was originally compoſed only of deputies. By his intrigues Orleans procured the admiſſion of ſome individuals well known for their patriotiſm and talents; and after this he introduced into it many of his own creatures ſuch as Sallery,

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of a rough anſwer, and ſome reproaches which were thrown at him, he had the two principal leaders put to death, and by this courageous blow put an end to a faction which had nothing to reproach itſelf with, but the having followed his precepts and his example.

Laclos,

Laclos, Voidel, Chepy, Camille Des Moulins, and many others, not forgetting his eldeſt ſon. From that moment many ambitious men and ſome true patriots canvaſſed for the honour of being admitted members. In a ſhort time the ſociety conſiſted of eighteen hundred, and became the theatre of all the intrigues. At the time that great difficulty attended the being admitted into it, ſeveral leſſer clubs were eſtabliſhed in Paris, under different ſections; that of the Cordeliers was one, and brought itſelf into notices by its hardineſs. This quarter of the town appears to have contained all the moſt violent in the capital. Danton, Legendre, Freron, Marat, Fabre D'Eglantine, Hebert, Montmoro, &c. &c., all lived in it, and were the very heart of the club which was firſt called, the Rights of Man, and then the Cordeliers, from the place where they met, as that of the Jacobins took its name from the convent of thoſe monks. I muſt remark to you by-the-by, that the mother-ſociety held its ſittings at firſt in the upper ſtory of the convent, exactly in the ſame place, where the council of ſixteen held theirs at the time of the League.

"The

"The principal members of the Cordeliers made many vain efforts during ſix months to be admitted into the Jacobins; conſtantly they put them off under different pretences. The flight of the king in 1791, was the time of their admiſſion; the danger of the moment was the cauſe. Since that time they have always been ſeeking to gain a dangerous aſcendancy in the ſociety, and they have begun to carry the upper hand in it ever ſince the tenth of Auguſt. Strongly united amongſt themſelves, they prepare and agree in their own aſſembly, what they ſhall ſay in the mother-ſociety; and when any thing is propoſed you will ſee them riſe to the number of two or three hundred either for or againſt the motion.

"I will ſhew you the ſide where they ſit. In order to dazzle the more, their orators are not ſeated in the midſt of them, they are ſcattered all about the place, and always, win over ſome of their neighbours to their ſide. One eſſential remark is, that not one member of the ſociety of the Jacobins has had himſelf received a member into that of the Cordeliers."

We were now arrived at the entrance of the Jacobin aſſembly, and our commiſſary went to procure us a permit for entering the meeting.

We

We followed him in, and he placed us nearly oppoſite to the preſident. "In the firſt place," ſaid he, "I muſt make you acquainted with the diſtribution of the parties. That amphitheatre which you ſee on our right, is called *La Montagne*. There are ſeated the members who heartily deſire, and who warmly ſupport the good of the republic. There is Boileau, Verginaud, Ducos, Lamarque, Quinette, Lindet, Bayle, and Condorcet. On our left, in the amphitheatre which is oppoſite to the other, and which they call *Le Rocher*, are the Cordeliers of whom I was ſpeaking to you. The principal amongſt them are the two Bourdons, Châles, and Chabot; the reſt are ſcattered about. Danton is on our right hand with Legendre and Eglantine. Oppoſite to us, by the ſide of the deſk, is Robeſpierre, and Conthon by his ſide holding his dog upon his knees. Orleans is in the deſk in quality of ſecretary. On the other ſide of the deſk is the uſual place of the party of Briſſot and Rolland; they are not there themſelves, but I ſee their partizans, ſuch as Lantenas, Borque, Maillie, and Reſtout. The ſpace where we are, as well as that on the left of the tribune, is not ſet aſide to any particular uſe; they are filled by members with-

out any decided character, who are ſometimes for, and ſometimes againſt, without knowing why. Thoſe large galleries which you ſee running quite round, hold above two thouſand ſpectators, and you will obſerve that three quarters of them are women: the ground-floor is capable of holding about as many."

The commiſſary was interrupted by a general applauſe, which was cauſed by the entrance of Dumourier. This general mounted the tribune with a woollen cap on his head. "I am come," ſaid he, "to bid my farewel to this ſociety, and to renew in its breaſt its oath of fidelity to the republic, and of dying in its defence. Let the true republican be recognized by what he wears on his head; the cap of William Tell is the only one which becomes him; I glory in being the firſt to put it on!"

Bourbon (de L'Oiſe) ſpoke next of the juſtice which the Cordeliers had exerciſed on the buſts of Mirabeau and Helvetius, as well as of their ſalutary denunciations. He invited the ſociety of the Jacobins to adopt the ſame meaſures. He entered into a long and lively diſcuſſion upon theſe two points, of which the reſult was two reſolutions; the firſt to veil the buſts till they

had

had taken a report of theſe two men; the next that the deputies of the ſociety ſhould propoſe to the convention to decree freſh domiciliary viſits, and the puniſhment of death to all emigrants who ſhould be found in Paris, fifteen days after the prohibition againſt returning into France, which ſhould be enacted againſt them.

He entered into a vigorous diſcuſſion upon the propoſal of expelling all the Bourbons from France. The Cordeliers preſent, and the party of Robeſpierre united in oppoſing this meaſure. The party of *La Montagne* contended for a long time and ſaid, that if Orleans, whom they called Egalité, was really as good a republican as he wiſhed to appear, he ought to be the firſt to offer himſelf to the oſtraciſm. They concluded by adjourning this queſtion till after judgment ſhould have been paſſed upon the king.

Nothing could be more pitiable than the countenance of the ambitious Orleans during the debate; it invariably changed with the different opinions offered. After this reſolution the ſitting broke up; and thus ended our day.

At parting, the commiſſary ſaid to us, "To-morrow the king appears at the bar of the convention. All thoſe in office, and all their ſubor-

dinates, are commanded to be at their posts by eight o'clock in the morning, and not to quit them without fresh orders. If you will be at that hour at the palace, you will find me there, and we will pursue our visit."

We readily accepted his invitation.

CHAP. VIII.

VISIT TO THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.

FIFTH DAY.

Viſit to the Ground floor of the Palace of the Tuileries on the Side next the Garden.—Examination of the King's private Cabinet.—His Liſt of private Charities.—By whom diſtributed.—His open Account with the Queen.—Other Expences entered in the ſame Book.—A Regiſter in which Louis XVI. wrote every Tranſaction of each Day of his Life from the Age of fourteen.—The King's Bondoir, and what Uſe he made of it.—His Books of Devotion in which he had written ſome Prayers of his own Compoſition.—The King's Tools for Smith's Work.—His Labours in this Way.—Puniſhment of one of the Pilferers of the Tuileries.—The King's Work ſhop.—Anecdotes of the Preſident D'Aligre and Rouſſeau.—Anecdotes about the Mournings, the Ceremonies of the Court, the Nobility, the Iron Maſk, the Wife of Louis XV., the King of Poland her Father, and the Machioneſs of Pompadour.—Louis XVI.'s Manner of working.—Anecdote of Condé, and Conti.—The King accuſes Monſieur of Impertinence; upon what Account; Cauſe of the Coolneſs between the Brothers.—Plans for Reſtoration preſented to the King by Montmorin.—Anecdotes of that Miniſter.

SCARCELY had the clock ſtruck nine before we were aſſembled at the Tuileries.—"I was very impatient for your coming," ſaid the commiſſary to us with a bow, "we are going to viſit the ground-floor on the ſide next the garden; let us begin with the king's cabinet; it is ſituated in an

angle of the middle pavilion between that of the centre and that of Flora. It has only a ſingle window looking into the garden; it was hither that the unfortunate monarch came down every morning to breakfaſt, to labour, and to reflect upon the cares of his government. Only one of his ſervants, Durey, had leave to enter here. The queen often ſeized the moment when he was at breakfaſt to come and talk with him upon the affairs of the times. She entered by the door which opens into her dreſſing-room which we ſhall viſit preſently. Sometimes the king, ſoured by his miſfortunes, received her very harſhly; if on the days that he was out of humour, ſhe ſpoke to him of politics, he drily anſwered her, "My affairs do not concern you, madam, do you only look to the care of your children;" and then he ſpoke to her no more, which obliged her to retire. When he did not chooſe to receive her viſit, he ordered Durey to lock the door on the inſide. When the queen came and found it thus, ſhe turned back without daring to knock. Durey, who is ſtationed here by Rolland to give inſtructions to the commiſſaries ſhall repeat this to you, if you pleaſe; he is my authority for a thouſand ſimilar particulars."

"I have

"I have heard," replied Lord Bedfort, "that this Durey was in the confidence of the king; how then can he have the meanneſs to ſerve thoſe who have dethroned his maſter?"—"It is not a good trait certainly in his character; indeed we diſtruſt and deſpiſe him. The king placed ſuch great confidence in him, and was ſo attached to him, that notwithſtanding he was called ſimply a page of the court, he was employed by the monarch as a valet-de-chambre, a confident, a factotum; in ſhort, it was to him that Louis XVI. committed the diſtribution of his ſecret charities, of which this is the liſt; and if any body had ſolicited the honour of being ſhut up in priſon with him, it ought to have been Durey, rather than Cléry or Hue."—Lord B. "Will you give me leave to look into this book of his private charities?" The commiſſary replied, "Willingly, upon condition that you do not mention the names of thoſe on whom his charities were beſtowed."

Lord B.—"But certainly he muſt have performed other beneſits beſides; for thoſe contained in this little liſt are of very ſmall value. The largeſt of them is not more than three louis

d'or; and here is one regiſtered of only ſix francs. The whole of this diſburſement is not above 400 livres a month. No doubt, but there are many private people who give away more even to one object of their charity; how could he trouble himſelf to keep an account of ſuch trifles?"

The commiſſary—"The ſyſtem of œconomy which the king marked out to himſelf on mounting the throne, led him to keep an account of the moſt trifling expences; and as his memory might have deceived him, he did not merely note down, but kept a regiſter of what he laid out: in a minute you ſhall ſee it;—by the ſame ſyſtem of œconomy, he was very parſimonious in his gifts. This is the only account of his charities which we find here; it was begun the 1ſt of November 1789, and ended the 1ſt of Auguſt 1792, as you may ſee; and during thoſe thirty-two months there is only an expenditure of 11,572 livres."

"Here is another little book of his daily expences of all kinds." "Let us ſee; why he had an open account with the queen like a manufacturer with the ſhopkeepers.

The

	Livres.
The 21ſt of January 1786 gave the queen three hundred louis, thus: -	7,200
The 1ſt of April 1786, gave the queen	3,000
The 13th of Auguſt 1786, gave the queen to balance the account of her treaſury - - -	18,696"

" That is very laughable, for the expence of her treaſury; can you explain to me what that means?"—" You doubtleſs know that the purchaſe of the chateau de Saint Cloud, which the queen made without conſulting her huſband, and the enormous expences of putting into repair Trianon, opened the king's eyes. From that moment he forbad any payments to be made on the queen's drafts, and made her a competent allowance, which he fixed as the limit of her expenditure. This is the reaſon that in this account you find nothing relating to the queen before 1786."—" But for all that ſhe found means of drawing upon his coffers without his ſuſpecting it."—" Calonne could have let you into ſome ſecrets upon that matter."—" Ah, ha! the king dabbled in the lottery; look at this article."—" The 13th of Auguſt 1790, gave Madame de Chimay four lottery tickets, encloſing

encloſing a ſum of 96 livres for a teleſcope, thus—96 livres."

—"This dear king forgot nothing, and I am perſuaded that if he had had any love-freaks, he would put down what they coſt him."

"Will you ſee an article that may do him injury in the unhappy predicament in which he now ſtands; and which ſupports what was ſaid by his miniſter Bertrand, that he ſpent much money in buying over people to his intereſt, who took the bribe and were nevertheleſs againſt him. Read this article."

"The 4th of January 1791, to M. Acqueloque for his faubourg, 3000 livres."

"January 1792, a preſent to M. Acqueloque for the faubourg, 1,800 livres."

"What leads me however to believe that theſe ſums were not exactly given in order to gain over to his ſide the inhabitants of the Fauxbourg Saint-Marceau, of whom Acqueloque was the commandant, is, that we do not in the courſe of the regiſter find any other expenditure of the like nature. There ought to be found in it a detail of three millions expended to fill the galleries of the National Aſſembly with partizans, and to pay the orators

orators of the crowd. Thus I think this money was given to the commandant to ſolace the peaceably inclined neceſſitous of the fauxbourg, whom want would perhaps have driven to join themſelves to the turbulent. And there is in my opinion a great difference between buying partizans, and paying people to prevent them from joining either party."

"Without doubt; but your Jacobins do not reaſon thus; 'He has ſolaced the unfortunate; thus he has ſought to gain them over to his ſide:' this is the logic of theſe gentlemen."

"Here is another regiſter much more voluminous than theſe you have juſt ſeen. It begins in 1768, and ends on the 9th of Auguſt, 1792. There are in it 8,392 articles which I have had the patience to read through."—"This muſt be curious; give it me."—"There it is."—"But you laugh."—"You will do the ſame."

Whilſt the Engliſhman was reading, the commiſſary ſaid to me; "This account has nothing curious in it but its title; it is a regiſter of every thing that the king has done every day, from the age of fourteen. It is commonly ſaid that there are few men who would not like to retrench at leaſt a fourth part of their youth, and that

there is nobody who does not want to tear a few leaves out of the hiſtory of his life. I declare to you that in this regiſter, there is not a ſingle line that wants to be effaced from the life of Louis XVI."

Lord Bedfort—" What a pitiable employment! I eagerly ſeized this book on account of its title; and if it was mine, I would throw it into the fire for the honour of him who wrote it. Read one article, and you have read the eight thouſand three hundred and ninety-two which it contains. It is a thermometer of the king's gettings up and goings to bed, and that is all. *Such a day roſe at eight o'clock, went to bed at ten;* always the ſame thing over again. Not one of thoſe traits, not one of thoſe particularities of which the lives of monarchs are ſo full."

The commiſſary—" Now you talk of a thermometer, ſhould you like to ſee that of Louis XVI.? Go into that cloſet, but one after the other, for there is only room for one perſon. This cloſet, ſituated in the right corner of the room, was in good truth, only five feet long, and one foot and a half broad. In a receſs at the end was a little couch; and in another receſs which was made out of the wall of the window,

were

were two chairs which could not be moved out of their places for want of room. Two little latticed windows gave light to this little ſpot, which was ornamented with taſte. It was hither that the king came after dinner to take an hour's nap, and moveover to obſerve, unſeen, what was going on in the garden, and to liſten what the people who paſſed under the windows ſaid. The ill-diſpoſed, when they had learnt that curioſity drew the king into this retirement, ſent thither the mob, to talk of a thouſand horrors, and to ſing infamous ſongs. Louis heard them with a ſigh, and always after ſome time went away from the ſpot. On the frame of the window, oppoſite to the door was faſtened a circular thermometer, which he viſited every day, and the variations of which he wrote down." The commiſſary ſhowed us the little book which had been uſed for that purpoſe.

Lord B.—"How much pains expended on trifles! and how much time waſted! The king would have been an excellent keeper of the accounts of a family or a counting-houſe, and this appears to me to be all he was good for."—"Wait a moment, do not form your judgment of him yet."—"What books are thoſe on that ſhelf?"

ſhelf?"—"They were the king's great conſolation; they are all books of devotion. Here is a volume with his arms upon it, bound in red Morocco, intitled, The Practice of Piety. It is a collection of pious acts. What makes it remarkable, are ſome prayers which the king compoſed and wrote into it, wherever he found any blank paper. Thoſe pages which the bookbinders call the blanks are filled with them. See, here are five pages of very ſmall and cloſe writing, which contain eleven diſtinct prayers, of offering, of good intent, of faith, of humility, of contrition, of hope, of deſire, of adoration, of love, of thankſgiving, of petition."—"Take my advice, and take care of that book; a day will come when it will be very valuable."—"I certainly may put it into my pocket without any danger; for all books of devotion are condemned to deſtruction; and more than one deputy has already torn ſeveral to light his candles with, and for other uſes too. One of theſe four volumes of the Miſſal which you ſee, contains alſo ſeven pages of prayers written by the king himſelf."—"It is the third part, I think."—It is."—"I would give ſomething handſome to be poſſeſſed of one of theſe volumes.

volumes *. I repeat to you, lay them aſide; it would be a pity that they ſhould become the prey of any of your political deſtroyers."—"But if it was known I ſhould be accuſed of having committed a crime: envied as I am by more than one of thoſe men who call me a *modéré*, they would accuſe me of having concealed theſe books, in the intention of producing them at ſome future time as objects of veneration, in ſhort as relics. My conduct is alſo narrowly obſerved by another claſs who are jealous of my place, and this being diſcovered by them would ſerve them as an excuſe for accuſing me of pilfering, and I ſhould ſink under this double denunciation; for the ſyſtem of the day is to find out victims. And in order that the end may not be defeated, they no longer ſuffer the accuſed to defend himſelf. They call any ſteps which he takes in his own behalf the tricks of chicanery, and the proofs he would bring, the machinations of the law."

"Without doubt the honeſt man and the virtuous citizen are at the preſent day the moſt ex-

* At the time of the deſtruction of every thing belonging to religion, the commiſſary followed the advice of the Engliſhman, and laid them aſide. The commiſſary is now dead, and their preſent proprietor is diſpoſed to give them up to any collector of curioſities. By applying to the printer of this work they may be ſeen.

poſed

poſed to hardſhip. But you need not be afraid of being treated as a pilferer becauſe you have laid aſide two little volumes proſcribed by theſe atheiſts. They will not conſider him, who might have filled his pockets with gold, with jewels, and with aſſignats, and who has rendered the moſt ſcrupulous account of them all, a thief, becauſe he happens to have laid aſide two objects of curioſity, whoſe value is ideal. Your other fear is childiſh. But however I'll put you into a way to parry all theſe inconveniences. Hide theſe books at the bottom of a bundle of papers of no value, and lay them upon the higheſt ſhelf of this book-caſe in ſuch a manner as ſhall not excite any body's curioſity; and after the revolutionary rage is a little ſubſided, you may take them from their hiding place."—"I am much obliged to you, and will put your advice into practice."

The commiſſary had taken the regiſters of which I have juſt been ſpeaking, from a ſecretary placed in the king's large cabinet, and to which we had payed but little attention at firſt; but in paſſing it again, Lord Bedfort fixed his eyes upon it, and made an exclamation at its ſize.—"This ſecretary," ſaid the commiſſary to us "is that in which the king kept all his articles of value; the inſur-

gents

gents of the 10th of Auguſt paid reſpect to it; but the deputies would look into it. It is, as you ſee, cylindrical, and has no key-hole viſible; there is indeed none; this nail preſſed upon by the finger, turns the cylinder and cauſes it to open. It is ſaid to be a chef-d'œuvre of mechaniſm. The deputies, eager to find certain papers which they had been aſſured were locked up in it, broke it open in order the ſooner to ſatisfy their curioſity, ſo that it is now in a ſtate of ruin paſt repair. The ſprings by having been forced are entirely broken, and the lockſmith who made it declares it out of his ability to mend it."—"Did you aſk him what it coſt?"—"Yes; two hundred Louis, the wood-work not included."—"Did the deputies find in it what they expected?"—"I do not know; I only know that it encloſed a portfolio full of papers."

On leaving the king's cabinet, we paſſed through a kind of paſſage which had a ſingle window looking into the garden. On the other ſide was a partition of glaſs, covered on the inſide with muſlin curtains, which concealed a dark chamber, of which the commiſſary opened to us the door. "This," ſaid the commiſſary, "is the room where the king made his locks."

We examined it; a table upon which was a vice, ſome files, hammers, pincers, and other tools proper for the work, were all that it contained. No forges, no anvil, not even a furnace, nor a chimney.—"He did not forge then," ſaid the Engliſhman.—"During his reſidence in Paris," replied the commiſſary, "he contented himſelf with filing, and he did that but very ſeldom."—"Can you ſhew us any piece of lock-work of his making? He was ſaid to excel in the art."—"Like your king George, in making buttons."—"He made them very ill; but flattery ſtamped his work with the name of chef-d'oeuvres."

"It is juſt the ſame caſe with the ſmith's work of Louis XVI. Durey told me at Verſailles, that even with the uſe of the beſt tools that could be procured, he ſpoilt all the locks, except a ſingle one, which he had taken off the doors and cloſets, in order to alter their wards himſelf. The lock-ſmith Gamin who gave him leſſons, he ſays, was obliged to mend them all. Here is the only piece of work, as Durey told me, that the king has done ſince his reſidence in the Tuileries; it is a key which is not finiſhed, though it had been begun more than a year: the lock lies by

its

its ſide."—"It is a complex piece of buſineſs, but it will not turn in the lock, and it is very ill poliſhed."—"It is however his maſter-piece. I will ſhew you in his bed-chamber a bolt which he made and put up himſelf. Theſe two pieces will be ſufficient for you to form your judgment upon his talents for ſmith's work."

At this moment we were interrupted by ſeveral perſons who came to ſpeak to the commiſſary. They were his colleagues who came to tell him that an offence had been committed by one of them, and that juſtice muſt be done upon him immediately. The Engliſhman and myſelf were going to retire, but the preſident of the committee ſaid, "No gentlemen, pray ſtay, we are glad that an Engliſhman of ſo worthy a character as that borne by Lord Bedfort is preſent at the ſtep we are going to take!"—"What is the matter in debate?"

"On one ſide of the apartment where we meet is a cabinet in which is a cloſet filled with the king's linen. The key was hanging by its ſide. This morning our colleague here, on ſome account or other was going in; the door was ſufficiently wide open to let him ſee one of the members of our commiſſion who was taking linen out of this cloſet, and putting it into his

pockets. He retired without being ſeen by the offender, and came and told us what was going forward. As this cabinet had no other door but the one into our meeting room, we waited till he ſhould come out. A few minutes after he appeared, and we all obſerved that his pockets ſtuck out very much. He ſaid that he had forgotten ſomething he ought to have done at home before he came out, and that he would ſoon come back. He who had ſeen what had been doing, ſtopped him, and accuſed him with the theft. His agitation firſt betrayed him; he ſtammered, and then had recourſe to inſolence. But he was made to turn out the contents of his pockets, which were ſix cambrick pocket-handkerchiefs, four Holland ſhirts, with lace frills and ruffles, and four pair of ſtockings of very fine cotton. After this humiliating operation, we ſuffered him to go away; and the queſtion now is how we are to proceed againſt him."

"Without doubt you have already conſulted together," ſaid the commiſſary; "as to myſelf, this is my advice; the offender is the father of a family, and of a poor family; if what he has done once gets abroad, he is a loſt man. Moreover he is not a determined raſcal; for if he had

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would not have been ſatisfied with taking articles of ſo little value, when he might with as great eaſe have pocketed thoſe of the moſt precious kind. But what he has done certainly takes away all confidence in him, and not any one of of us can now wiſh to have him for a colleague. Let the preſident go to his houſe this evening and requeſt him to give in his reſignation. If he refuſes to do it, which I cannot ſuppoſe he will, we will all go to the miniſter, and tell him what has happened. Above all make no notes of this affair in writing; there ſhould never be any trace exiſting which may one day injure a man who has been ſubject to one accidental weakneſs."

Every one agreed to this advice; and the commiſſary told us the next day that the offender had ſent in his reſignation.

"If men always reaſoned thus," ſaid I to the Engliſhman, "the number of criminals would be much diminiſhed. To open the way to repentance after the commiſſion of a firſt fault, is very politic; for afterwards men only ſtep on from a fault to a crime becauſe they have received public puniſhment. A tarniſhed reputation rendering them objects of contempt and diſtruſt to their

fellow citizens, deſpair alone remains to them; which almoſt always ultimately drives them to decided criminality. After the revolutionary ſtorm ſhall have ſubſided, it is to be hoped that the glorious eſtabliſhment of juries may grant us this benefit. But let us follow our conductor who is beckoning to us."

"This apartment alſo makes part of thoſe occupied by the king. Here are the papers relating to the affairs of the ſtate. He uſed to meditate upon them before he conferred with his miniſters or his council. Here they are placed in paper caſes, of which the labels declare the contents. You will find ſomething here, I hope, to gratify your curioſity. I need not tell you that it would be indiſcreet for an Engliſhman to examine theſe fourteen folios of politics. Thus, all that refers to negociations, treaties of peace, the navy, the colonies, is prohibited to you; and particularly this collection, entitled: Politics of England." Lord B. "You might leave me here alone, I would give you my word of honour not to open one of them."—"I am ſure you would not; but do not let us loſe time, we have yet a great deal to ſee."

"What relates to our finance is doubtleſs indifferent to you; ſo we will paſs by theſe three folios

folios which treat of it. I muſt however tell you a couple of anecdotes, which will open your eyes to a ſpecies of fraud which you are I dare ſay quite unacquainted with. Rouſſeau bought the treaſurerſhip of the city of Paris, for a million. This ſum ought to have been employed in the paying of ſome annuities with which the city was charged. Rouſſeau continued in the office till his death, without paying the million of which the intereſt was nevertheleſs paid to him with exactneſs. At his death an annuity of 4,000 livres was given to his wife. Calonne in looking over the accounts of the treaſurerſhip of the city in 1785 diſcovered the fraud; but he took particular care not to publiſh it. Bretueil and the mayor of Paris, would have been implicated in the accuſation, and he was wiſer than to make himſelf ſuch powerful enemies.

The ſecond anecdote, very nearly of the ſame kind, relates to the preſident D'Aligre, an intimate friend of Calonne. At the time of the loans made by Necker, the preſident was very warm in ſubſcribing for a large quantity of ſhares. But he contented himſelf with ſigning his name, and paid none of the money; notwithſtanding he received very punctually the intereſt of the

ſums which he had not furniſhed. Add to this that he bought a place for his ſon, and that like Rouſſeau, the ſon held the office, and received the intereſt without having laid out a doit. It was not Calonne this time who found out the trick, but the miniſter Miromenil, who informed the king of it. Enraged at this deceit in the chief of the magiſtracy, Louis XVI. ordered his miniſter to demand of the Preſident his reſignation. As this happened in 1786, Miromenil gave the king to underſtand that the affair muſt not be too much haſtened, leſt the Parliament which was then united with Bretueil to ruin Calonne, ſhould take advantage of this circumſtance to enſure ſucceſs to their plan. It was agreed that he ſhould have a private conference with D'Aligre, in which he ſhould inform him that his reſignation of his place could alone prevent the king from rendering his conduct public. The conference took place; but the event was not what the miniſter had hoped from it. D'Aligre, on finding the maſk torn off, only ſhewed more firmneſs. He ſaid that forgetfulneſs was ſolely the cauſe of the fault which he had committed; he had only received the intereſt in the perſuaſion that he felt of having

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funded the principal, and that by returning the intereſt, which might amount to about 80,000 livres, all would be right; but that he did not underſtand why he ſhould on this account give in his reſignation. On hearing this inſolent anſwer the king was going to fly out into a paſſion, but Miromenil again ſtopped him. He ſpoke again to the preſident, telling him that if he did not deliver in his reſignation, the king would have him taken up and proceed legally againſt him. D'Aligre was now ſeized with great alarm, and conſented to throw up his place, only requeſting that he might be permitted a few months to do it in, which were granted to him. This was the true cauſe of D'Aligre's retiring from office.'"

Lord B.—"It does him no honour; but theſe two anecdotes announce a dreadful diſorder in the adminiſtrative power of your finances; and I am not ſurprized at their reduced ſtate. Theſe ſingle frauds were not the only ones committed, I dare ſay."—"Unhappily not; in the ſearch which the parliament cauſed to be ſecretly made at the ſame time in the hope of finding flaws againſt Calonne, they diſcovered at L'Hotel-de-Ville many abuſes ſimilar to that of D'Aligre relative

relative to the loan."—"Miromenil appears to me faithfully to have ſerved Louis XVI.; his conduct towards the preſident of the parliament proves that he was not afraid of drawing upon himſelf the anger of men in place and power."—"He cannot but be praiſed; whether it was from a foreſight of the events which afterwards took place, or from political or religious principles is uncertain, but he was almoſt the only one who offered an oppoſition to the granting of the civil privileges to the proteſtants. When he ſaw he could not ſucceed in his oppoſition, he laid before the king a plan for keeping them under ſo tight a rein, that while they enjoyed this benefit, they had not the power of abuſing it; but his plan was not put into effect.

"The next folio relates to the ceremonies of the court, and the diſputes concerning them. It can intereſt you little to know that the princes of the blood, in conſequence of their contingent right to the crown, pretended in 1775, that the archduke Maximilian ought to pay them the firſt viſit after his journey to Paris; and that in 1789, M. de la Luzerne uſed every effort in his power to be admitted into the king's carriages. But what you will like to take note of perhaps

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is, that in the month of October, in the ſame year, by a moſt ſtriking change, the municipality of Paris broke through the humiliating cuſtom of falling on their knees, when they appeared before the royal family. The king, ruffled as he was by his tranſlation to the capital, and notwithſtanding all the humiliations and vexations to which he had for two years paſt been ſubject, teſtified great diſpleaſure at this innovation upon eſtabliſhed cuſtom. I heard from the mayor, Bailli, that ſome days after the king ſaid to him with evident dejection: 'It could not certainly be you, M. Bailli, who propoſed the aboliſhing of this ceremony.' The mayor anſwered him, 'It is a new reſolution of the municipality. Confeſs, ſire, that this bending of the knee was a mark of ſlavery, and diſgraced a body made to be reſpected. It was a cuſtom which was eſtabliſhed by one of your predeceſſors to puniſh a rebellious municipality. It has been kept up doubtleſs from want of being reflected upon, but it cannot ſubſiſt in the reign of liberty.' 'At leaſt,' returned the king, 'you ought to have warned me before-hand of the change.'—'Sire, believe me that I had not the time to do it.'

"Here is the regiſter of the court mournings, from 1757 to 1791."—"How thick it is!"—"The family of kings is ſo large that they are in mourning three fourths of the year."—"The court mourned in black; but the king mourned in violet colour: pray what could that be for?"—"This is the reaſon; the king mourns in violet colour by the right of the crown, which gives him the title of firſt hereditary canon of the churches of St. Hilaire de Poitiers, of St. Julian du Mans, of St. Martin de Tours, of Angiers, of Lyons, and of Châlons: when he goes into theſe churches they preſent him with the amice and the ſurplice. When the king wore a black ſuit for half mourning, it was contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, and from his own choice."

"What are thoſe folios upon that ſhelf?" "A collection of the proofs of the nobility of the pages, with the arms of each. See with what ſkill all this is done. The leaves are of vellum, and the writing is almoſt equal to copper-plate. Theſe embelliſhments, theſe arms, theſe tail pieces, how beautifully are they painted! And now inſtead of theſe maſter-pieces of art being preſerved in a muſeum, they are commanded by a

decree

decree to be deſtroyed, and will be converted into cartridges for our cannon."—"How ſo?"—"An order has been iſſued, for collecting from all public places of depoſit, all uſeleſs parchment; and they have literally mentioned that the titles of the nobility ſhall be at the diſpoſal of the war miniſter. We have already delivered up a waggon full; hitherto I have reſcued this precious collection; but I fear it will not be longer in my power to guard it from deſtruction.

"In looking over this collection, I have laughed more than once at the origin of certain names. Nothing is more common than to find a count deſcended from an apothecary, or a prince from a courtezan; but to ſee a name grafted upon that of an animal, or a herdſman, is not a common thing. Such, however, is the origin of Les Châlus; read this anecdote.

"Jean de Châlus, third of the name, was of the court in the year 1165. He had the misfortune to diſpleaſe Louis VII. who was then king; this king exiled him, and commanded him not to appear before him again either on foot or on horſeback. Jean de Châlus obeyed the mandate, left the court, and at laſt reached his country reſidence. There, diſtreſſed by being out of

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place, and tormented with a desire of returning to the court, he conceived the idea of breaking in a bull. Constant in his undertaking *, he now thought only of the good or ill reception he might meet with from the king when he again appeared before him. Encouraged by the good and merciful disposition of the king, who he thought would have respect for his stratagem in consideration of the event wished to be produced by it, he went to where the king was then holding his court. Jean de Châlus, appeared, mounted on his bull, and passed with great confidence before all the courtiers. The novelty of seeing a man ride upon such a beast, drew a great crowd of spectators; the king's astonishment was also excited; he demanded what this meant, and received a full account of what he saw. The king pardoned him immediately, and restored to him his office.

"It was in 1165, that Jean de Châlus was disgraced, and in 1167 that he was again received into favour. From that time he took the name of Le Bouvier (the neat-herd). The Châlus of Auvergne are descended from the family of Le Bouvier; since that time they are become di-

* He in two years accomplished it.

vided. They now form ſeveral branches; M. the ducheſs of Narbonne, is at the head of one; the Châlus of Viallevelonx, of Saint Furgeol, and thoſe of Prondines repreſent the others."

In a paper-caſe entitled, miſcellanies, we expected to find ſomething to gratify our curioſity. A diſcuſſion upon machines for aſcending into the air, preſented us with a problem proving that to carry up thirty men, with their food for ſixty days, would require a machine of 2,300,688 cube feet, weighing 133,663 pounds, and which would coſt 2,564,222 livres, 10 ſols. Theſe particulars might be of ſervice to Ganerin or Blanchard.

A table of the overflowings of the Seine from 1711 to 1784, ſhowed us that the greateſt inundation in Paris was in 1711, when the waters roſe 25 feet and five inches. Then followed obſervations made in different years upon the quantity of rain which had fallen in each. From 1711 to 1775, we found that the year which had been the leaſt rainy was 1723, there having fallen only ſeven inches and eight lines of rain: and that 1711 had been the moſt rainy, twenty-five inches, and two lines having fallen in that year.

A regiſter

A regiſter of the variations of the ſeaſons kept from 1740, ſhowed by the following anecdote, that the ſpring of the year 1756 was the moſt forward. "In the year 1756, Meſſieurs de Bongards and Nanteuil having gone out into Les Bois Noirs, found on the 4th of the month of March, in the village of L'Etang, ſome blades of rye which were judged to have ſtarted from the ſeed ſix days; the king wiſhing to be aſſured of the truth of this phenomenon, ordered M. de Bongards to gather him theſe blades; which was accordingly done the next day."

Several other folios contained the papers of different affairs relating to individuals, ſuch as Bellegarde, Guines, the ſhameleſs Madame Lagranche who left her huſband to follow the Ruſſian prince Mewiſki, whom ſhe wiſhed to marry, and who left her after having ruined her; of Madame de Chaulnes who in 1773, married Giac as a recompence for his having gained her a law-ſuit in the face of all juſtice, and at the riſk of his reputation. The famous affair of the necklace detained us ſome time; we turned over every leaf relating to it, in the hope of coming at the truth; which has been ſo carefully concealed: but we found nothing but what is already known,

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and two private examinations of the intriguing Lamotte, and the depraved cardinal, which gave us no new information. Two letters, the one from Vaudreuil, and the other from the abbé de Vermond, ſerved partly to remove the veil which hangs over this dark affair, and to furniſh violent ſuſpicion, if they do not entirely prove, that the queen was not ſo great a ſtranger to this intrigue as ſhe would have it believed. Vaudreuil writes to her "It is time for your majeſty to ſtrike a grand blow, and exert all your power. The public are beginning to talk: it is by ſtriking efforts that the vulgar are impoſed on. The cardinal haughtily affirms that he returned the trinket to V. M. I am poſitive that he gave his word to the jeweller that you would pay him. The firſt impreſſions are the moſt durable. Be you the firſt to acquaint the king: do not ſtand in the way of his firſt anger. *Nothing but an exemplary puniſhment falling upon ſome one can prevent ſuſpicion reſting on you.* Madame Jules de Polignac will give you better advice than my letter; I am your majeſty's, &c."

The abbé de Vermond wrote thus to the queen in December 1785.

"All Paris is eager for the law-ſuit, and awaits with a degree of impatience its iſſue. Whiſpers are abroad; all the family of the cardinal fill up the avenues to the *grand chambre;* they create much intereſt, particularly the old counteſs whom thirty years of an exemplary life have rendered highly reſpectable.

"I am more and more convinced that it would have been right in V. M. to have followed my advice, and to have oppoſed the proceſs now carrying on.

"Whatever be the judgment of the public it is very bad policy to make much noiſe, to quell it.

"The police fulfils the orders which I gave them on the part of V. M. they impoſe ſilence on the pamphlet writers; but however great the vigilance uſed, too many are circulated.

"Keep away from the king the man who would paſs for a ſpeaker of the truth; he will end by ruining you in his opinion. The baron * is your man: but he is not the friend of the ſpeaker of the truth, who loudly exclaims that he would never have ſuffered himſelf to have had the cardinal put under arreſt, if he had incurred your

* Breteuil.

diſgrace.

diſgrace. There are alſo other people whom it is important to keep at a diſtance from the king.

"V. M. has too much confidence in your power; you ought not to forget that your brothers and ſiſters-in-law look upon you with envy, and that they will let ſlip no opportunity of ruining you: I would have your majeſty above all, diſtruſt the philoſophical prince *."

"Upon my word," ſaid the Engliſhman, "an acquaintance with theſe letters would have given great pleaſure to Madame Lamotte for her memoirs, of which the queen had the edition and the manuſcript bought up at a very great price in London."—"And which ſhe had burnt laſt year at the manufacture of Seves by the renowned Riſton."—"This precaution has not prevented the publication of four different editions in London. I have one, to which I will annex a copy of theſe two letters which clear up many circumſtances."

Papers relating to the iron maſk.—"Without doubt we ſhall here find a key to this long exiſting ænigma."—"Not at all; they will only inform you, that the ſecret was not known by Louis XVI. any more than by any body elſe,

* Monſieur, the king's brother.

notwithſtanding the pains which he took to diſcover it. He had the tomb of the count de Vermandois ſearched. Here is the verbal proceſs dated the 19th of February, 1782, which ſtates the removing of the body of the duke from Courtray, where he died, to the town of Arras. On the 16th of December, 1786, a commiſſary of the king's, ſome municipal officers, and a ſurgeon, drew out this other verbal proceſs. It contains an account of the opening of the tomb, the examination of the body, the dimenſions of the coffin, and the epitaph engraved on the ſtone. All this only ſerves to prove that the count de Vermandois was not the man in the iron maſk."—" But at the taking of the baſtile did they find no information in the regiſters?"—" The fury of the people directly condemned the greateſt part of the regiſters and the papers to the flames; what could be ſaved from the fire were examined by Manuel, who had whatever in them was moſt curious printed; and in his *Police unmaſked*, nothing is found relative to this man."—" Then all hope of fathoming this ſecret muſt be given up."

" Does this folio of letters of the reign of Louis XV. contain any intereſting particulars?"

—" Not

—" Not any; it is almoſt entirely filled by the correſpondence between Staniſlas and the queen of France his daughter, who mounted the throne by the intrigues of the marchioneſs de Prie, miſtreſs of M. the duke *." Two hundred and ninety-five letters of that dethroned monarch dated from 1732, to 1766, which I had the curioſity to read, have not furniſhed me with one anecdote worth relating. The firſt, written from Dantzick, partly in cyphers, partly in Poliſh, and partly in French, but all tranſlated, and decypher-ed, relate to his fears of the diſpoſition of France relative to himſelf. After the treaty of peace, which made him duke of Lorraine, he complains of his lot, and ſays that he has been completely duped; an entirely different promiſe having been made to him. He endeavoured to juſtify the Jeſuits, whom pains were taken to leſſen in his

* Maria of Poland was not at firſt the wife deſtined for Louis XV. The duke of Orleans, the regent, had cauſed to be aſked in marriage for the king the princeſs Charlotte of Lorraine, who died abbeſs of Remiremont. The duke and ducheſs having returned in anſwer that they had an elder daughter, the regent was ſo affronted, that he broke off the treaty. It was ſaid at the time that France would have been happier if the princeſs had been its queen, as ſhe would have rivetted upon herſelf the king by her beauty, and prevented his having miſtreſſes, while the great piety and virtue of Maria, only teaſed him.

opinion. As a proof of this he acknowledged himſelf to have been initiated into their order, and to be a jeſuit of the *robe courte*. I will give you an anecdote of which I was witneſs, which will ſhew you how great his prejudice was in favour of this order. The convent of the Jeſuits and that of the Capuchins were adjoining buildings at Nancy, and the gardens of each were only divided by a wall of eight feet in height. Along this wall ran on the ſide of the Capuchins, a cradle walk of elms. To covet, to aſk for, and to obtain the grant of this was only a day's work to the Jeſuits. The ſuperior of the Capuchins received orders one afternoon, from the king Staniſlas, to deliver up the elms to the Jeſuits. He returned for anſwer, "I obey; to-morrow the orders of S. M. ſhall be followed." While the Jeſuits were triumphing in their ſucceſs, this ſuperior, a man of ſenſe, far above the common run of his order, diſcovered an incorrectneſs in the order he had received which preſented him with the means of revenge. He was merely ordered to deliver up the elms, and not the earth in which they were planted. So what did the Capuchin do? he provided himſelf with a large number of men, introduced them into the garden

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while the monks of both convents were aſleep, had them cut down the elms, put them upon four waggons, and at the break of day they arrived at the gate of the convent of the Jeſuits with this meſſage: "In compliance with the orders of my ſovereign, I do not loſe a moment in delivering up to the reverend fathers of the Jeſuit convent, the elms which he has thought fit to grant them." The Jeſuits enraged, ſet off for Luneville, five leagues diſtant from Nancy, to make a complaint to Staniſlas, who could not help laughing at this truly pleaſant trick.

The uneaſineſs and vexations which Staniſlas had endured had ſo much affected his nerves, that he was ſcarcely become duke of Lorraine, before he was ſeized with a trembling which hung upon him to his death. His writing is not only very difficult to be recognized, but almoſt illegible. The queen was obliged to have his letters copied that they might be read, and I am ſurpriſed that they could find any body clever enough to decypher them. They only contain expreſſions of tenderneſs, and chriſtian advice. The poſtſcript was always almoſt a compliment from his dog; "Triſtan," he would ſay, "the companion of my ſorrows, licks your feet."

"What letter is this?" ſaid the Engliſhman, looking at a ſignature which he could not make out.—"It is from Louis XVth's miſtreſs, the marchioneſs of Pompadour."—"Let me look at it."—"There is nothing in it worth reading; it merely contains a proof that it was ſolely through her that the marriage of the duke of Grammont with Madame de Choiſeuil was brought about. Here are the reports of this duke, during the war in 1744, upon the regiment of French guards which he commanded. As you ſee, they are written on one ſide the leaf, and on the other ſide are the king's anſwers to to every article, written and ſigned by himſelf. The value of all theſe papers is long gone by."

Lord B.—"This paper caſe muſt contain ſome curious things, it is entitled, Copies of Letters from the King to different Perſons."—"Not it indeed; the only curioſity that I find in it is to ſee how much time Louis XVI. waſted upon the moſt un-important objects. In ſhort, he kept a copy of all his letters in his own hand, and thoſe he ſent away were alſo of his own writing. Any body elſe in his ſituation would have ſaid to a ſecretary, 'Anſwer ſo and ſo to Mr. Such-a-one;' or would have ſcrawled in the mar-

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gin of the letters which had been addreſſed to him, the ſum of the anſwer to be returned. But he was his own ſecretary." Lord B.—" This gives me a clue to many puzzling circumſtances. Maurepas, after him Vergennes, and ſo ſucceſſively all the miniſters in whom the king placed confidence in order to divert him from affairs of conſequence, and to prevent his having the time to ſtudy and ſearch into them, conſtantly continued to occupy him with theſe trifles. From habit, it grew into a duty with him, and moſt likely into a neceſſity. This is the reaſon that he was never capable of any thing great. After he had refuſed the reverſion of a place, or caſt up a few accounts he felt perfectly ſatisfied with himſelf, and thought he had done a great deal for the happineſs of his people.

" The following paper caſe, doubtleſs contains the letters to which theſe are the anſwers."—" As you imagine; here is one I have opened upon, from a man, who I will anſwer for it, had no followers of his example. It is from Lamiliere refuſing an office, becauſe he thinks himſelf incapable of fulfilling it with the capacity required for it"—" I will take a note of this, it is an extraordinary trait of character. It is dated

the

the 7th of April, 1787."—"The next is a contraſt to it however; it is a petition for an hereditary dukedom; for a penſion of 60,000 livres, till a valuable governorſhip ſhall fall, with the reverſion of 15,000 livres, ſettled on each of his two ſons, and, an unnamed ſum for the arrangement of his affairs."—"Pray what is the name of the gentleman who makes this modeſt requeſt?"—"Upon that point you muſt allow me to be ſilent. He is a man who has the addreſs and ſenſe to ſupport his credit under all governments. One of his ſons is at this moment ſecretly directing the political negociations of our republic. He has knowledge enough for the undertaking; but he ought to have more gratitude to Louis XVI. for the favours he has received from him."—"Will you tell me then only the date of his modeſt requeſt?"—"It is dated Auguſt 1787.

"The greedineſs of this courtier may be compared to that of the Marſhal de Belle-Iſle who was ſo loaded with wealth, honours and dignities, by Louis XV. that it was ſaid the king was not a man great enough to be able to do any thing more for him. M. de Caſtries to whom he left his furniture, found at his death 800 beds, with 2000 matreſſes, ſome in his hotel at Paris, ſome

at Verſailles, ſome at Metz, ſome at Biſi, and ſome at Auvillers.

" From the time that Louis had an income ſettled upon him by the civil liſt, he took a particular account of all his domains, at the head of each of which he placed a kind of ſteward upon wages, who was obliged not only to return him the annual accounts, but to remit him conſtantly every particular. Let us take up any one of theſe paper-caſes to which chance directs us. Theſe are the accounts of Rambouillet and of L'Iſle-Adam, under the ſtewardſhip of Ogé. See here are the letters."—" What, thirty-ſeven letters between the 9th of September 1791, and the 4th of July 1792!"—" Yes thirty-ſeven letters to the ſteward; and then you muſt reckon thirty-ſeven anſwers from the king. On the margin of theſe letters, he has written the heads of his anſwers."—" Oh ho! and amongſt the particulars of cutting down wood, and maſonry work done by Lanoue, Ogé alſo gives an account of the ſenſe of the people in theſe cantons."—" That is in compliance with the king's requeſt; read theſe words in his own hand, upon the margin of that letter. 'What is the political opinion of the canton? What are the ſentiments of the muni-

municipal officers?' Should you like to ſee Ogé's replies to theſe queſtions?"—"Oh no, you would teach me to be as trifling as the king; who according to what I have ſeen of him, took vaſt pains about things of no importance, and left the management of affairs of conſequence to his favourites."—"This only proves what I told you juſt now about what you had to expect from the copies of his letters."—"I ſhall however, note all theſe things down; for it muſt be from the ſum of all theſe particulars that I muſt learn the true character of Louis XVI."

"We are now come to the revolution. In my opinion, it is very wrong to date it from the taking of the Baſtile. A revolution begins at the time that every claſs of ſociety begins to reſiſt the orders of the ſovereign; when the monarch can no longer exerciſe his power but by force of arms. And this was doubtleſs the king's ſituation in 1788. I might even, without the fear of being caught in an error go back, to the year before; but at this period I will fix the date of our revolution. Only examine the papers contained in this folio, entitled 'Change of 1788.' You will find in them the proceedings of Les Premiers Notables, with a bundle of letters

letters from the princes and peers to the king of France. Only remark how thoſe who ought to have ſupported the power of the throne, and the royal authority, either ſlipt away or apologized for being of a contrary opinion. The prince of Condé was the firſt to take himſelf away. 'I am,' he ſays, 'going to travel with my family, and I hope at my return to find your majeſty, the royal family, and France, in a much more happy ſituation.' Now I aſk you; ought he at that moment to have abandoned the king?"—"I am far from blaming him; his conduct, on the contrary, proves, that he was really attached and devoted to royalty. So true is what I advance, that your moſt fiery revolutioniſts eſteem him in their hearts. He ſupported with honour, the name to which he was heir."

"Condé had for a long time foreſeen the overthrow of France. The diviſions which had for a long time ſubſiſted in the royal family, he perceived would be ſo far from producing a union to ſtem the tide of ruin that was pouring in upon it, that they would even add vigour to its current. The firſt aſſembly of the notables proved to him the truth of his idea. Seeing that in Louis XVI. indeciſion and weakneſs were alone to be found

inſtead

inſtead of judgment and firmneſs, and convinced that his advice would not be liſtened to, he turned his back upon the ruſhing ſtream; and I maintain that he acted rightly. Your king had already proved to all Europe, that of all men who could have ſucceeded to Louis XV. he was the leaſt calculated to repair the errors of the laſt reign. For I am, between ourſelves of the opinion of Machiavel on this point. His ſyſtem of politics, of which the vulgar quote at random thoſe maxims which he diſclaims, becauſe he iſolates them, ſays ſomewhere that 'It is very deſirable to have an alternate ſucceſſion of princes ſome of a meek ſpirit, others of an enterpriſing character; thus Numa ſucceeded very properly to Romulus; Bajazet to Mahomet; and Solomon to David; but after Numa there ought to have been a Tullus; after Bajazet a Solyman, and after Solomon any body but a Roboham. According to this principle a prince of firmneſs, and even ſeverity was neceſſary between Louis XV. and Louis XVI. Condé thus not being allowed to be of any uſe to the ſupport of the throne at home, did right to endeavour to ſupport it abroad. That he did not ſucceed, muſt be placed to the blame of the conduct of the French nobility who

went

went and joined him; to the obſtacles which they threw in the way of the execution of all his plans; and more than all this, to ſome policy of the principal cabinets of Europe, of which the ſecret is ſtill not above half known."

—"The prince of Conti did not exhibit ſo loyal a conduct; he was conſtantly turning from one ſide to the other, in the hope of keeping well with both. See his correſpondence with Brienne, and his letters to the king."—

"What a dullneſs runs throughout his ſtile; what a croud of lies heaped upon one another. In the aſſembly of Les Notables where he preſided, he oppoſed the plans of the miniſters; and in his letters he apologizes for having been obliged to ſpeak thus, making warm proteſtations of his faith to the king."—"It is only a natural conſequence of the line of conduct he had marked out to himſelf."—"If an oath was decreed, he would run and take it; if gifts of cloaths or money were aſked, he would be the firſt to give them."—"Aye, and if you had offered him the preſident's chair in the Jacobin aſſembly and the red cap, he would have accepted them both. In ſhort there remains nothing more to be ſaid of

him

him after the portrait which his father drew of him."

"A letter from Monſieur to the king; it is without doubt a ——."—"In reading it you will ſee that it was written in 1787."——"The beginning is ſingular, and the ſtile is familiar. The 'my dear brother,' does not keep its proper diſtance, 'The fear of ſeeing you tired of liſtening to me, and of what I have to ſay to you; made me determine to write to you.'—To judge by the ſtile and contents of this letter, it ſhould ſeem that the two brothers were not upon the beſt of terms. The king was diſpleaſed at ſeeing Monſieur tainted with the ideas of the new philoſophy, and ſupporting thoſe which were given birth to in his cabinet and in his palace. Some fault which he one day found with a ſpeech of Calonne's diſpleaſed the king ſtill more, and he told Monſieur that he was impertinent. In this letter Monſieur gently touches upon the harſhneſs of that expreſſion. In ſpeaking to the king upon certain phraſes which Calonne had with too much licence made uſe of in his ſpeech, and againſt which the Notables wiſhed to teſtify their diſpleaſure and oblige him to retract them, he wrote to him telling him what he thought the beſt

beſt way of ſatisfying them, and begins his ſentence thus; "If I durſt be ſtill farther *impertinent*, I would tell you," &c. Lower down he again repeats this expreſſion; "If the *king* calls me *impertinent* I will appeal to my *brother*, who knows he has not a better friend than myſelf." This repetition ſhows how much he was chaffed by the word."

"One thing aſtoniſhes me in monſieur's letter; he writes to the king that it is the firſt time he has allowed himſelf the liberty of telling him his opinion upon an affair of importance. What then, was not the king in the habit of conſulting his brother upon affairs of conſequence?"—"Do not be ſurpriſed at that; Louis could be very eaſily prejudiced in favour of or againſt any one. The queen, who had his entire confidence, did not like monſieur; ſhe called him ironically the philoſophical prince; this title became a proverb at court; and if ſhe did not abſolutely try to make the two brothers quarrel, ſhe however took care to prevent her huſband from conſulting his brother upon any occaſion. To tell you the cauſe, I will not ſay of the queen's hatred, but of her coolneſs to her brother-in-law, would be uſeleſs."—"I am acquainted with the motive."

"Examine this voluminous memorial. It is without a ſignature, but the king has put the name at the top and proves to you that Montmorin is the author. It contains the advice of a true friend. As an hour would ſcarcely be ſufficient for you to read it in, I will tell you the heads of it. Montmorin, after having pointed out to the king the abuſes of the government in every part of its adminiſtration, and ſhown him the impoſſibility of preventing a new order of things, propoſes to the king to put himſelf at the head of the change. 'It is the only way,' ſays he to him, 'to preſerve your authority, and to retain the love which your ſubjects bear you. You muſt have no States-General at this moment; their exaltation would render them much too dangerous. Were they once to aſſemble, you would no longer have the command over them. The moſt difficult wound of the ſtate to dreſs is the finance. The loans have run us into debt, the penſions have ruined us, and five hundred millions are ſcarcely ſufficient for the exigency of the time. With due regulation and and her reſources France may yet parry the blow, but ſhe muſt guard againſt thoſe abſtract and metaphyſic theories which ſeduce at firſt ſight.

To

To make yourſelf well acquainted what reſources the wealth of the kingdom is capable of affording, and render it if poſſible more productive; to calculate what it ought to produce, and multiply it by a reaſonable uſe; theſe are the elements of a ſyſtem of finance.'—Amongſt many other plans which he propoſes this moſt ſtrikes me.

"The middle rank is the moſt rich and jealous of honours; as much as it is able it raiſes itſelf by getting into place. Hold out to it ſome honorary bait, it will ſeize it with avidity. Letters of nobleſſe which carry with them no pecuniary exemption may ſatisfy its pride. Fix them at a price ſo moderate that four hundred thouſand perſons may purchaſe them without hurting their fortunes, and the coffers of the ſtate will ſoon be full. Aſſemble at the ſame time the ancient notables of your kingdom to conſult upon the means of making up the deficiency; lay before them your plan without ſuffering them to depart too far from it. Aſk aſſiſtance of the clergy, and ſome renunciations of privileges of the nobility.'

"Not content with giving the king theſe general ideas, Montmorin preſents the king in this work

with his projects relative to every branch of the adminiſtration, and gives the king the outlines of a diſcuſſion to make upon each. He begins with the conſtitution of the kingdom, which he ſays 'is ſo tarniſhed by laws and abuſes, that it is difficult to ſay whether it exiſts or not. Sophiſtry has taken the place of truth; cuſtom of ancient inſtitution; and right is ſmothered by uſurpation. As to the neceſſary reforms, he adds, 'they muſt be founded upon the character of the nation; and as the goodneſs of the laws depends upon the manner in which they are received, we muſt not conclude that becauſe a law is abuſed it is a bad one. It is neceſſary that the projects of reform ſhould be laid before the public with ſo much art, that they may do away all difference of opinion upon their enaction, by the good conſequences which their uſe ſeems to promiſe. Legiſlation bears no reference to the morals of the ſtate. For a long time the civil code has demanded a reform. The obſcurity and barbarity of many laws have obliged ſtatute to be heaped upon ſtatute; and what is called juriſprudence, is nothing but a farrago of inexplicable contradictions even in the eyes of the moſt enlightened men of the law. But as this reform neceſſarily

requires

requires to be a long while in doing, it is ſufficient to begin with changing or modifying whatever appears moſt urgent. It is in the carrying on of ſuits that chicanery ſhews itſelf dreſſed in all its arts; theſe then are what muſt firſt be attacked. Conſtant complaints are made of the juſtice of the ſmall courts by the unhappy wretches who fall into their power. Inſtead of only liſtening to them, as they would receive the complaints of the huſbandman who is grieving at the ravages made by the ſtorm, it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſevere diſcipline, which may ſupport the judges while they reduce theſe little juſtices. All our criminal laws are barbarous; no proportion between crimes and puniſhments; no defence for the accuſed; the penal code wants to be entirely re-made.

"The police in the large towns is imperfect and vicious. Particularly in Paris it appears to be at war with tranquillity and morals. The moſt exact calculations mention from twenty-eight to thirty thouſand beggars, and about forty thouſand women of the town *. What has hitherto ever

* Poverty, the ſource of all crimes, did not ſufficiently engage the attention of the government; of the herd of beggars which are ſcattered about France, at leaſt a fifth part may be

ever been done towards getting rid of theſe two plagues? Are there any better laws to put aſide beggars than beggary, or libertines than libertiniſm? The ſophiſts will tell you that beggary is an evil inſeparable from civilization, and that proſtitutes are the ſafeguards of women of virtue. This definition carries with it a contradiction; and I muſt think that a ſtate may exiſt without theſe two ſcourges. Without going farther from home, Switzerland will furniſh my argument with an example of its truth. Well-directed hoſpitals, part of which ſhould be workſhops, would produce almoſt enough to ſupport the impotent and incurable.'

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reckoned capable of working. Why are they not employed about a thouſand public works, in keeping up the roads, in labouring, and repeopling the foreſts, in draining the moraſſes? This laſt article alone would furniſh employment for all theſe now uſeleſs beings. Twenty thouſand arpens (arpent is 100 ſquare perches) of ground covered by the moraſſes of Bourgoigne, in the Department of L'Iſeres want only working at to make them excellent paſtures, and turf, where wood is ſo ſcarce as in that country, a moſt neceſſary article. The draining of theſe moraſſes is ſo much the more eaſy, as their elevation above the Rhone preſents a natural declivity for the water to run down. That excellent work of M. Bercerf may be conſulted upon the ſubject.

"This abridgment of ſome of Montmorin's plans will ſerve you to judge of this miniſter by. He is one of that very ſmall number who had the courage to ſpeak the truth to the king, and point out to him the coming danger. Towards the end of his miniſtry he oppoſed the plans of the queen, while he pretended to be entirely ignorant of them. He was the only man whoſe influence over her huſband ſhe dreaded. 'If the Count diſcovers my project,' ſhe ſaid in 1792, 'he will blow down in a moment the fabric I have been ſo many months in raiſing.' She concealed from him that ſhe talked of public affairs to the king; above all, ſince in a private council he had opened the eyes of the king to a dangerous ſtep, which ſhe and Latour-du-Pin were adviſing him to take."—"Do you know, Sir, what this ſtep was?"—"This is what I have been told it was; when the conſtitution was preſented to the king for his acceptance, he conſulted different perſons; all of whom, although from different views, adviſed him to ſanction it. At a meeting held in his cabinet, at which were preſent with him the queen, Latour-du-Pin, and Montmorin, the queen ſaid, 'that he muſt accept the conſtitution to have it the better in his power to deſtroy it.' Latour-

du-Pin added, 'that the accepting of it could not bind down the king, and that it was the only way of regaining his former authority.' Montmorin held his tongue, and waited to hear what the king ſhould ſay, who ſhaking his head every now and then at the arguments of the two anti-conſtitutioniſts, ſuddenly interrupted them; 'If the new ſyſtem was the leſs vicious I would accept it with pleaſure, notwithſtanding it reduces me almoſt to an automaton, and I would give an example of its moſt ſtrict execution. But it is ſo incoherent in its parts, and what it puts into my power is ſo unjuſt, that I think myſelf obliged in conſcience not to ſhut my eyes againſt its vices.' Montmorin acknowledged the blots which ſullied it, adviſed the king to accept it, not to make the uſe of it propoſed by Latour-du-Pin, but to make its faults be perceived by executing it to the letter. He pointed out to him the conſtitution as the anchor of his ſafety, and the harbour of his peace. 'Do not believe,' he ſaid to him, 'that you will ever remount to the point from whence you have fallen; notwithſtanding the many opinions of the day, there is one prevalent throughout all France, it is that of deſtroying royalty but not monarchy.'

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The queen and Latour-du-Pin argued ſourly for a long time. The king ended all debate by following the advice of Montmorin."

"This miniſter has been accuſed of being a revolutioniſt."—"Very true; the partizans of royalty taxed him with Jacobiniſm, and the Jacobins accuſed him of royalty. This is the fate of honeſt men who have as it were a mixed opinion, and which the times call *moderés*. In following their own ſyſtem they diſpleaſe the violent of both parties, who ultimately ſacrifice them to their ſafety. Montmorin was the victim of the triumphing Jacobins on the 10th of Auguſt; if the royaliſts had had the upper hand, they would without doubt have puniſhed him, but in a leſs cruel manner."—"Did he not periſh in thoſe dreadful days of September?"—"Yes, in the agonies of deſpair; when he ſaw the fate that awaited him, he was ſeized with a delirium; and in a moment of phrenzy, when the moſt wiſe are not their own maſters, he broke a table of ſeveral inches in thickneſs with a blow of his fiſt. It was the ſerpent biting the file."—"Why did he not fly when the throne fell?"—"He thought that by hiding himſelf in the houſe of a friend, he might avoid perſecution, and then

ſhew

ſhew himſelf or fly according to circumſtances. But yet he had foreſeen the event of things; ſome days before that which changed the deſtiny of France, he ſaid to Bertrand de Molleville, 'You laughed ſix months ago when I foretold the republic to you. You will ſee whether or not I was miſtaken, I believe the epoch very near. Its duration will be ſhort; every thing depends upon the fate of the king; if he is aſſaſſinated, the republic will not laſt a moment; but if he is formally tried, and *condemned*, you will not long have a monarchy.'—This man had a juſt conception of things, and deſerved a better fate. But four o'clock is ſtriking: to detain you in converſation any longer would be to abuſe your complaiſance. Good day to you."—"To-morrow then we will purſue our examination of the papers. Farewell."

CHAP. IX.

SIXTH DAY.

Precautions taken by the Court at the time of regiſtering the edicts of May 1788.—The ſpies privately ſent by it to the Parliaments.—Who are the firſt that demand the double repreſentation of the Tiers-Etat.—Erection of a bulletin for the King alone.—It ceaſes to be made at the departure of Montmorin.—Letter of Barentin to the king, upon the bills of grievances, one of which requires the ſuppreſſion of the nobility.—The advice given to the King.—Newſpapers commanded by the King to be iſſued.—Who were the editors of the papers on both ſides.—Predictions made to Louis XVI. of his fall, and of that of the throne.—Deſpotiſm of the miniſter Rolland.—Diſcovery of the Queen's diamonds.—Sale of the King's wardrobe. Form of delivering out the effects of the Tuileries after the 10th of Auguſt.

As ſoon as we met again, we continued our examination of what ſtill remained to be viewed in this apartment. A table which was lying in the room drew the attention of my Lord, and he ſaid to the Commiſſary, "You doubtleſs know what this table is?"—"Yes, it is a liſt of the commiſſaries named by the king to go and regiſter the edicts in 1788 in the Parliaments.—He has as you ſee eraſed ſome names which did not pleaſe him, and ſubſtituted others in their places with his own hand." "Why do I ſee only

one

one commiſſary ſent to ſome parliaments, when there are two ſent to others?"—"This is the reaſon: when they wiſhed to have regiſtered in the parliaments, beſides theſe famous edicts, other anterior ones, which had been rejected, they named two commiſſaries. For example; that of Beſançon had rejected ſeveral money edicts; they then ſent thither the marechal de Vaud, and the intendant of the province. Nancy, which had refuſed to regiſter the twentieths, had for its commiſſaries the intendant and M. de Choiſeul. Farther, there is a note of their buſineſs, under their names."—"Very true."—"But what you do not know is, that in every parliamentary town the king had a ſpy, who watched over the commiſſaries and the magiſtrates, rendered him an account of his obſervations, and propoſed to him ſuch meaſures as he judged expedient. Every where almoſt they were counſellors or advocates: at Nancy, which I have juſt been mentioning, an advocate, named Riſton, was the ſpy from the court; in the account which he gives of what is paſſing, he adviſes the king to iſſue lettres-de-cachet againſt thoſe whom he calls the leading men of the parliaments and the bailiwicks." "This is always an odious profeſſion; particularly

larly was it ſo at that moment." "If we are to judge of them all by him, they were vile men who undertook this buſineſs. Riſton was, beſides being a bad ſubject who carried on a lawſuit againſt his father (an amiable and reſpectable man), accuſed of having forged titles or ſeals, I do not exactly remember which of the two: he was alſo alternately condemned and acquitted upon it; but the revolution acted as a ſponge upon his conduct. This is the ſame man whom the queen employed to burn that pile of papers at Séves."

"Theſe folios inſcribed, States General, doubtleſs contain ſome curious papers."—"Yes for hiſtory. Firſt you may find in them memorials of all the parliaments, and of all the orders of France, addreſſed to the king when the ſtates-general were firſt promiſed. Theſe papers may be uſed as a compaſs to learn the ſpirit which at that time animated each of theſe bodies, and ought to have been the king's guide in his conduct. You will there find addreſſes from the Tiers-Etat of Brittany, of la Compté, and Dauphiny; which firſt demanded the double repreſentation. Secondly, the pretenſions of the firſt orders of the different provinces, upon the queſtion whether it

was

was the right of the ſtates or the bailiwicks to name the deputies; and requeſts to have the conſtitutional laws attended to, before the debt of the ſtate was brought upon the carpet. I muſt tell you that this laſt demand cauſed the greateſt alarm to the king and his council. Then follows all that concerns the union of the three orders; this packet contains the letters from the deputies to the king apologizing for having reſolved themſelves into a common meeting; theſe men were the duke of Liancourt, Lally Tolendal, &c. &c.

"This file of papers contains the heads of the ſittings of the ſtates-general, and thoſe of each chamber. The king, who would know immediately what was paſſing in each chamber, charged the miniſter Montmorin to give him information on the ſubject. He contrived an ænigmatical kind of character; and in this four of his clerks were employed to write the heads of the debates and deliberations. Many of theſe bulletins are you ſee written by different hands, which ſhews the king's impatience to learn the debates."—"I can imagine that it muſt have been eaſy enough to compoſe this bulletin when the three chambers were united in the manner you ſpeak of; but while there were three ſeparate meetings,

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ſome other mode of digeſting the whole into one muſt have been neceſſary."—" At that time Montmorin had a deputy in each chamber, who ſent to him immediately the heads which he had taken down; this is the cauſe that the bulletins could never be continued in a regular form. Sometimes they begin with the nobles, ſometimes with the clergy, and ſometimes with the tiers-etat. Each head as it occurred was written out fair, and thus the king knew what had paſſed in each chamber within an hour after the breaking up of the aſſembly."—" It ſeems they got tired of theſe bulletins, for the laſt is dated the evening before the taking of the baſtille."—" The departure of Montmorin was the cauſe of their concluſion; this miniſter, ſeeing that the king was courting his own ruin by his invariable indeciſion, reſolved to remove himſelf from him, and fled to his eſtate called Maiſoncelle, the name of which he took on his journey; and from thence he wrote to the king to apologize for his haſty departure."—" Thus the king was every day loſing ſome part of his ſupport: how came this defection not to open his eyes?"—" It was not for want of warnings and advice that they were kept ſhut; this letter from his maſter of the

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ſeals is one of a thouſand other proofs to the contrary.

" After Barentin had, according to the order of the king, looked over the bills of the grievances of France, he was alarmed at the conviction it had given him * ; in addreſſing theſe to the monarch in the courſe of April 1789, he ſays to him, ' that if he had not yet allowed himſelf to make any reflection, it was that he had only conſidered the convocation of the ſtates-general as a grand national council, whoſe end of meeting was the reſtoration of the finance, and the relief of the people ; that in this caſe he ought to have truſted to the adminiſtrator of the finance in whom the public had placed confidence ; but that that ſince the repulſion of petitions he was con-

* If the miniſter Barentin had read all the bills from the little courts, which were moulded together that one only might be preſented from each order through the grand bailiwick, he would have ſeen ſtill more alarming demands, which were put aſide as laughable. I ſhall quote only one ; in one of the petitions from the little bailiwick of Darney in Lorraine, they demanded in a formal article, not only the abolition of hereditary nobility, but the inſtant extinction of the order. This demand, which at the preſent day appears nothing, was very extraordinary, if we conſider the time at which it was made. What makes it ſtill more ſurprizing is, that it was the propoſition of a noble of that country. This ſingular trait in his character induces me to give his name ; he was called Lepaige de Dammartin.

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vinced that the finance was only a very ſecondary ſubject of the national debates, ſince almoſt every liſt ordered the deputies to refuſe the king any aſſiſtance he might aſk of them, to deprive him even of the ancient revenues of the crown, if he did not firſt ſubſcribe to a new conſtitution.

" Barentin next endeavours to ſhew the king, that this new conſtitution called for with ſo loud a voice, will reduce him from a king into the ſimple mandatory of the nation, that ſhe wiſhes to divide the legiſlative power with her monarch, and humble the king into becoming merely the executor of her orders. He adds, that in order to gain the public confidence, they have ſent all the bills of grievances to the preſs; that every thing is ready for ſtriking a blow at the royal authority, and that there is no time to be loſt in parrying it. He makes this reflection, ' In the reign of your auguſt grandfather, ſire, the exciters to ſimilar ſteps would have been tried, found guilty, and puniſhed as rebels by your parliament.'—" Without offence to the miniſter, there is an anſwer ready for him. Why puniſh thouſands of men for having made complaints and petitions, which they had been allowed to form? This would have been great raſcality.

The king's falſe ſtep in convoking the ſtates-general aroſe from his not having reflected upon the new lights and philoſophy of the age. He ought to have known that the doctrine of our fathers was very different from ours; and that the ſtates-general would not ſuffer themſelves to be ſilenced or diſſolved at the caprice of a ſovereign. Beſides I ſhould like to know who was to have puniſhed theſe ſtirrers up of whom he ſpeaks? It could not be the parliaments who were all ſtirrers up themſelves. But I beg your pardon for having interrupted you."

"That theſe fears were not the creation of Barentin's mind, the event has but too plainly proved. He adviſes him to aſſemble round his throne, thoſe princes whoſe intereſts are intimately connected with his own, to hold a kind of family committee, to which he ſhould add ſuch of his faithful adherents as are beſt verſed in the knowledge of the laws; and there, after having debated upon the complaints which have been ventured to be advanced, that he is not ſuch a king as his grand-father, to decide on a proper plan for ſtemming the torrent of general delirium, and guarding the throne againſt republican fanaticiſm. He adds, that in quality of the maſter of

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the ſeals, it being his duty from the ſituation he alſo holds to addreſs the ſtates-general, he is ready to tranſmit to them the orders of the king, if they are worthy of the majeſty of the throne; but that he will never be brought to put the ſeal to the daring demands made: they may be compared both in their title and effects to thoſe of the barons of England, when they formerly deſpoiled the moſt weak and moſt juſt of their kings. The miniſter concludes by making appear to the king, that he has not the right of parting with the poſſeſſion of the crown which he wears, that he is only its tenant, and that it is the patrimony of his family, and a heritage which the laws of the kingdom bind inviolate to his poſterity."

" It does not appear that Louis XVI. paid any attention to this ſevere advice of his miniſter; and this miniſter did not keep his word, as he did not fly off on the firſt ſound of the word conſtitution."—" He cannot be blamed for not having deſerted the king; from that moment on the contrary he ſupported as much as lay in his power the royal authority."—" And in what way did he do that?"—" He never ceaſed to give the king advice, and neglected no opportunity of oppoſing the operations of the innovators,

he even propoſed to the king to fight againſt the opinions which the patriotic journals were inſtilling into the public mind, with other journals in the pay of government. He firſt planned with M. Maiſſemy to prevent the circulation of newſpapers, or to ruin them by a want of ſubſcribers *. But the grand ſentence of *the liberty of the preſs*, being miſunderſtood, cauſed the miſcarriage of this deſign. They then agreed with M. Degny, the ſuperintendant of the poſts, to ſuffer no periodical paper to go out from them without the expreſs leave of the king. At length this precaution proving inſufficient, they ended by iſſuing royaliſt journals.

The abbé Labathien, author of *Les trois Siècles*, was firſt choſen to edit the political and national journal, of which the object was to defend the monarchial principles. Such was the origin of this literary war which engaged in it the public opinion on both ſides, and ſtill continues ſo to do. Notwithſtanding the little eſteem in which theſe newſpapers were in general held, they ſerved ſeveral great perſons of the times as a paſſport for being ſtateſmen. Many of theſe men who had never ſtudied politics, or had a ſingle pla-

* A decree of the council was propoſed, and digeſted to that effect.

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card, you would nevertheleſs hear talking boldly upon all the points of adminiſtration. The gazettes are the only ſources from which they drain knowledge; the coffee-houſe is their cabinet, the bulletins their authority, and the newſmongers their oracles, only hear them arguing and they would move your pity for them; but little do they care, ſo long as they can impoſe on the mob. They are the very counterparts of the orator ſpeaking upon the art of war before Alexander. But a truce to theſe melancholy reflections, let us purſue our examination."

"Since we are diſcourſing upon this point, give me leave to aſk you if you know the editors of the different journals on both ſides." "I have juſt told you who was at the head of the management of thoſe of the court party. Mirabeau was in a very ſhort time after at the head of thoſe of the patriotic party; as was Laclos of that of the faction of Orleans. Deſcending one ſtep nearer to the preſent time, Briſſot and Gorſas are at the head of the newſpapers of the Girondins; Marat and Hebert of thoſe of the Cordeliers, and Robeſpierre of thoſe of Les Montagnards.

"To return to Louis, I think nothing can be more ſurprizing than, that after the truly pro-

phetic advice of Barentin, which certainly was not the only warning he received, he ſhould have acted in a manner ſo contrary to his own intereſt."—"Not only as you ſay, it was not the only advice, but not even by any means the firſt he received. His fate had been for a long time predicted. In 1775, Maurepas had received a letter, which the king read, in which was this ſentence; 'the monarchial government muſt become republican, when thoſe entruſted with the royal authority abuſe their truſt, by making themſelves be obeyed in the name of the laws, and diſobeying in their own perſons the legiſlators!' Maurepas only laughed at this prediction, and the king did the ſame.

"When he exiled Meaupont, and recalled the parliaments, the oppoſite parties ſang forth his triumph, and his defeat; for a Frenchman muſt ſing whatever ſituation he is in. Collé, the ſecretary of the duke of Orleans, and father of our deputy, made ſome verſes upon the victory of the parliaments. The almoner of the archbiſhop Beaumont anſwered theſe verſes in a ſong. The ſixth verſe has never been out of my memory; this is it:

"Oh

'Oh king in ſeeking for juſtice,
Thou'rt mounting up a precipice,
From which thou ſoon muſt fall;
The reins are ſlipping from thy hand,
The parliament will get command,
Of thee, and France, and all.'

When Turgot quitted the miniſtry, he alſo drew the horoſcope of Louis XVI. Not ſatisfied with having boldly ſaid to him: 'The fate of kings, governed by their courtiers, is that of Charles I., or of Charles IX.'—he wrote to him, 'I beſeech your majeſty to guard againſt irreſolution; it is the principal cauſe of miſery to the people, and misfortune to kings. It was irreſolution, ſire, which led Charles I. to the ſcaffold.'

"In 1780, in the remonſtrances which the clergy preſented to the king are theſe words: 'If a few years more of inactivity ſhall be ſuffered to roll on, the earthquake will become general, and devaſtation and ruin only will ſurvive it; a revolution, ſire, which may be compared to that of England, is hatching in this ſtate.'

"Laſtly, on the day that Louis gave his ſanction to the double repreſentation, the count of Artois his brother, hung up in the king's chamber the portrait of Charles I. in the place where that of Louis XV. had been ſituated; and

on the day that he retained Necker in the Miniſtry, this ſame brother took away the portrait of Charles I., and hung in its place a print of that king receiving the fatal blow from the hand of the executioner. I could quote a great number of other and ſimilar warnings which were given to him from the time of the opening of the ſtates-general to the period of his flight; but they would appear leſs ſtriking than thoſe he received at the time of his full power."

"I am not much ſurprized that the king paid but little attention to theſe firſt warnings; but what is inconceivable is, that after the firſt ſparks of liberty had begun to appear in 1787 he did not call to mind all you have juſt been telling us, and act in conſequence."—"It appears that in recalling it to his mind he only reſolved to ſubmit to his deſtiny, and prepared himſelf for it by reading every year the life of Charles I."

"After the opening of the ſtates-general was finally determined upon, what greatly employed his thoughts was the opening ſpeech which he was to make there. Always diſtruſting his own abilities in ſimilar moments of difficulty, he requeſted each individual of his council to draw him out a model. Making uſe of all theſe which he

he received, he framed a ſpeech which he ſhowed to the queen, who found great fault with it. 'Well then, make one yourſelf,' ſaid the king to her. The queen took him at his word, and the next day put into his hands one of her own compoſition; which the king ſo much approved that he altered very few parts of it; and thus was at length hammered out the ſpeech which gave him ſo much uneaſineſs: here are the minutes of it. This is the writing of the queen." —"This anecdote is worth remembering, I will put it down with your leave."—"Certainly, if you pleaſe, it is no ſecret."

Whilſt Lord Bedfort was taking his notes, the miniſter Rolland paſſed by us, and bowed to us. A boy belonging to his office was following him with his hat in his hand, and addreſſing him in a very humble tone with, "Citizen miniſter, I beg of you to hear me." Rolland turned about, and ſaid to him in an angry voice, 'Don't put me in a paſſion; you know that I have the right of throwing you into priſon, and making you periſh there;" and he then paſſed on. We looked at each other.

"Are theſe threats characteriſtic of a republican miniſter?"—"It is one of the evils attendant

attendant on power, that it will always make itſelf be felt. Beſides, conſider that he is in the palace of kings; the place inſpires him."—"Jeſting a part, what I have juſt heard ſurpriſes me. A ſimple miniſter of a republic pretending to have a power which never belonged even to the moſt fiery deſpot. What would he be if he had the power all in his own hands?"—"Sovereignty has ſometimes exerted its power to cauſe individuals to periſh in priſon, but it never pretended to make a right of it."

A young man at that moment came running up to us, with an air of triumph painted on his countenance. Addreſſing himſelf to the commiſſary, he ſaid, "What do you think I have juſt found?"—"Some valuable papers?"—"No."—"Some gold?"—"Better than that."—"Explain yourſelf."—Directly he drew from under his coat a chagrine caſe, of about eight inches in length, four in breadth, and two in depth. "Here it is—it is the queen's jewel box." He gave us the caſe and we opened it, and found in it ſix rings, and a necklace of diamonds; a ſnuff box, on the lid of which were the portraits of the king, the queen, and their two children, ſet in the ſame ſtones; in ſhort, in

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this box were the beſt diamonds remaining in France ſince the theft of the necklace and two ear-rings in the ſhape of pears, of which one was a little ſmaller than the other. After having carefully examined them, Lord Bedfort eſtimated the whole at a million.

The firſt queſtion was to learn where this box could have been concealed to have eſcaped the ſearch of the people who had rifled the palace. The young man took us into the queen's dreſſing room, and thus addreſſed us; "I had juſt finiſhed a piece of work upon which I had been employed four days, without having reſted above an hour or two each night, ſo much was I hurried to conclude it, and I was refreſhing myſelf with looking into this beautiful garden. I was leaning upon this lattice work, which is, as you ſee, about two feet diſtant from the glaſs of the window. As I was looking out ſomebody paſſed quickly by; and I leant out in order to ſee who it was. What was my ſurpriſe to feel this ſhelf, which I thought fixed againſt the wall, but which proved to be only reſted upon two groves, give way under my feet. I thought no more of the perſon paſſing by, but I puſhed the ſhelf, which ſlid without much exertion on my part,

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into a cavity made for it in the wall. I looked with aſtoniſhment upon this ingenious invention, which concealed, without any ſuſpicion of its doing ſo, two arm chairs placed oppoſite to each other. I ſat myſelf down in one of them, and, notwithſtanding the thickneſs of the cuſhion, I felt ſomething hard underneath that I preſſed upon; I got up, and took it off, and found this caſe which I examined at my leiſure!"

Whilſt he was ſhewing us the mechaniſm of this window, the Engliſhman was ſtanding behind us in deep thought. "Look here my lord," I ſaid to him. "I ſee," he replied, "but I am thinking of this young man; ſee how honourably he has acted in this diſcovery. He does not think, I am certain, that this action is an act of heroiſm at this particular moment. He was alone, and might without fear of diſcovery, without ever being ſuſpected, have put this caſe into his pocket. It would have been a fortune to him."—"Yes, but how acquired?"—"With leſs criminality than many juſt now. For how many men in his ſituation would have reaſoned thus: 'Fortune gives me an opportunity of enriching myſelf, without injuring any body; theſe jewels actually belong to the ſtate, which knows not

not that it poſſeſſes them. Their value is too ſmall to do any benefit to ſingle citizens, if it was divided amongſt individuals, while it is ſtill capable of making the fortune of me and mine. It is then allowable for me to keep theſe jewels; for I am robbing nobody, not even the nation, ſince ſhe knows nothing of theſe riches.' This is the falſe argument which many would hold out, and which I ſhould perhaps myſelf under the ſame circumſtances."

At the end of theſe reflections we were rejoined by the commiſſary, who had been telling the virtuous young man to carry the caſe to the committee. I imparted to him the ſurpriſe and reflections of my lord. "You will ſtill more admire this trait of the young man's character," he replied, "when I ſhall tell you his ſituation in life. Alexis is his name. His father, who was formerly a counſeller in a bailiwick of Lorraine, had thrown away 15,000 crowns, which was the all he had for his family, and was now ſupported as was his wife, by their ſon, who followed the profeſſion of an advocate in the ſame town. The old man had another ſon, but he was a thoughtleſs, wild young man, and croſſed the ſeas. The eſtabliſhment of juſtices of the

peace having diminiſhed the profits of the advocates, Alexis could not now earn ſufficient for the maintenance of himſelf and his parents. He then ſolicited for and obtained a clerk's place in the adminiſtration of the lottery. He came to Paris early in laſt October in order to enter into his place, and met with a deputy of his own country. This man diſſuaded him from entering into the employment of the lottery, on account of its going to be ſuppreſſed, and offered him the place of a ſecretary to the commiſſion employed to examine and take an inventory of the papers found in the Tuilleries, and other palaces, with an appointment of a 1000 crowns. Alexis thanked him, and accepted his offer from two motives, as he told me; the firſt, becauſe his pay was better than he ſhould have had in the employment of the lottery; the ſecond, becauſe his preſent office gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the tranſactions of the court and the revolution.

"The only condition of his bargain which he diſliked was the being obliged to have himſelf admitted into the ſociety of the jacobins; but he muſt ſupport his parents, and ſo he ſubmitted to any thing. He ſends them exactly the half

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of his pay. The deputies after having paid ſome attention to his manner of proceeding in his employment, left it entirely to him; for a month paſt the buſineſs has all been in his own hands, and he never ſees them, only when they give their ſignatures and inſtructions about the papers. In order to accelerate the buſineſs, they propoſed to him to have an office and ſome clerks; but as at the ſame time they demanded of him ſecrecy upon the contents of the papers, and made him reſponſible for the ſlighteſt indiſcretion concerning them, he anſwered, 'Whilſt I am alone I can enſure ſecrecy, and be willing to ſubmit to puniſhment if I betray it; if I take any clerks they may prove indiſcreet, and you may accuſe me of their faults; ſo take your choice, either leave the work entirely to me, or receive my reſignation, if you inſiſt on my having any colleagues.' They left him to himſelf, and I aſſure you he has made good uſe of his time. He goes to work by eight o'clock in the morning, and does not leave off till ten at night, except one hour at dinner time. Sometimes he paſſes many ſucceſſive nights without taking more than two hours ſleep on the queen's bed, upon which he lies down with his cloaths on. They are ſurpriſed

priſed at the expedition he uſes in his employment. Six weeks only he has been in office, and he is ready to give an account of 400 paper caſes, all filled, which he has put into order.—He is gifted with a great quickneſs of apprehenſion, with a ſtrong and happy memory, and a ſingular facility at forwarding any employment."—"Add," ſaid Lord Bedfort, "with an honeſty which is proof againſt all temptations; we have had a proof of it."—"I will give you an inſtance alſo of his firmneſs; you will ſee that he is not afraid of expoſing himſelf to the reſentment of men in power in the diſcharge of his duty.

"About a fortnight ago the miniſter Rolland came into this room, which is the one where Alexis works. 'Are you at work upon the inventory of papers?' he aſked.—'Yes I am, citizen.'—'Have you found any of my letters to the king?'—'Not one.'—'I know that there are ſome here.'—'That may be, I have not yet examined all the papers.'—(Alexis had already ſeen two, they were in the paper caſe which you ſee entitled, Letters from different perſons to Louis XVI., but out of reſpect to the miniſter, and the ſecrecy by which he was bound, he

he believed it his duty to diſown having ſeen them.) 'I have been told that you had already found ſome of them.'—'You muſt have been told wrong; for had it even been the caſe, I ſhould not have mentioned it.' The miniſter, whilſt ſpeaking, examined the titles of the paper caſes, and was going to take one from its ſhelf; Alexis, who had hitherto been ſitting at his deſk, ran up to him, ſaying, 'I beg of you, citizen, not to touch a ſingle paper caſe; I am ordered not to let a ſingle one be ſeen by any body.'——'Don't you know who I am?'—'Yes I do, you are the citizen Rolland, miniſter of the interior.'—'Well then, you ought to know that every thing that is in this palace is under my care.'—'I know that the building and the furniture are under the government of your miniſtry; but I alſo know that the commiſſion charged with the inventory of the papers by the convention is independent of it.'—'I know nothing of that commiſſion.'

Rolland was going to pull down a paper caſe. Alexis got between the miniſter and the ſhelf, and, repeating to him his requeſt not to touch any thing, begged of him not to put him to the neceſſity of preventing him from ſo doing. The

poſition, and laſt ſentence of Alexis, inflamed the ire of the miniſter, and he ſeized him by the collar, in order to drive him away, exclaiming, 'It looks well indeed for a petty clerk to want to impoſe laws on the miniſter Rolland!'—'I do not pretend to impoſe laws, I am only a ſentinel who muſt guard what is conſigned to his truſt.' When Rolland caught Alexis by the collar, Alexis laid hold of both his arms, and, being ſtronger than the miniſter, he held him motionleſs whilſt he added, 'I beg your pardon, citizen miniſter, but ſince arguments fail, I am reduced to calling in my phyſical powers for preventing your touching any thing here.'

"Alexis has told me ſince, that he was reſolved on putting Rolland out of the room, if he had been driven to it, in ſpite of the danger which he knew he was running. 'I knew,' ſaid he, 'that I was a loſt man. Rolland, an all-powerful miniſter, with the reputation of virtue, could by a ſingle word cruſh a poor clerk like myſelf, without ſupport or friends. I ſhould have been pitied, but I ſhould have been ſacrificed; many even might have blamed me. Happily for me, at the moment of our ſtruggle, came in two deputies, and three other perſons, who ſtood thunder-

thunderſtruck at what they beheld. I let go my hold,' ſaid Alexis, 'and the miniſter did the ſame.' 'What does all this mean?' aſked the deputy L . . . . Rolland, naturally pale, was crimſon with paſſion. He repeated with great exactneſs what had happened. When he had done ſpeaking, L . . . . . aſked if the miniſter had ſpoken the truth. Alexis replied that he had.

"L . . . . ., in a tone of firmneſs, then ſaid, 'It is ſurpriſing that a miniſter ſhould forget his dignity, and ſeek to take advantage of the ſuperiority of his ſituation, to make a clerk forego his duty. I praiſe Alexis as much as I blame you; and here in your preſence I charge him at his peril to ſuffer any perſon, particularly yourſelf, to ſee a ſingle paper. You know better than any body elſe that the inventory of the papers does not in any ſhape concern you; and that our having here eſtabliſhed our office, is only from the neceſſity we are under of making a ſearch for the papers which are ſcattered about this caſtle. Think what would be the conſequence to yourſelf, if I were now to go to the convention, and report what has juſt happened; but do not be afraid I ſhould; I attribute what you have done rather to a guſt of temper, than any worſe motive.' Rolland left the room

without ſpeaking, quite caſt down by what had been ſaid to him."

Alexis came in again at this moment with the caſe, which he had been directed to place in the treaſury of precious articles which were every day collecting. Lord Bedfort went up to him; "Rare young man," he ſaid to him, "I am proud to become acquainted with you. What I have juſt ſeen and heard has won you my eſteem. It is not impoſſible but that your ſtrict honeſty may bring upon you ſome perſecutions, and oblige you to leave France. If this misfortune happens to you, chooſe England for your land of refuge. The houſe of Bedfort ſhall always be open to you; my eſteem and friendſhip are already yours for ever." Alexis in ſurpriſe thanked my lord, whom he had never before ſeen. We informed him of what had juſt paſſed; he then again thanked him, and added, "What I have done, my lord, was only natural; you would have done the ſame in my place."—"With regard to theſe diamonds, I don't know what I ſhould have done."

"Theſe diamonds, then, are all that are now remaining of the immenſe quantity which the king and his family poſſeſſed?"

"Very

"Very nearly all," replied the commiſſary; "they diſcovered yeſterday that a jeweller had a few belonging to madame. The jeweller wiſhed to have kept them in order to reſtore them to the king's daughter; but a law, which orders all thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of any effects belonging to the royal family to come and make declaration of the ſame to us, made him ſo uneaſy that he went to hold a conſultation with a lawyer how to hide his neglect of the decree. This is the turn which the affair took. He went to a man in the law named Laroque, who was alſo the firſt clerk of the commiſſion of reſponſibility, and imparted to him his wiſh, and his fears upon it. 'Do not be alarmed,' was the anſwer, 'I'll put you under the wind, never fear; and directly he wrote, "Such of the council as are here underſigned, after having read a caſe preſented by the cit. Loir, &c." I will tell you the excellent artifice uſed by this counſellor, who gives you the reſult of the opinion of ſeveral men of law, and at the ſame time ſigns the opinion for them all.

"It is an inconteſtible truth that the king is to the nation as king; whence it follows, that the moment he leaves the throne to have no more

ſucceſſors, every poſſeſſor of any articles reputed to belong to the king, ought to bring them to the nation. But it is an equal truth, that Louis XVI. in quitting the throne deprived his daughter neither of the rank of citizen, nor of the advantages which that title binds to her; of which number is the right of poſſeſſing property. She is then the proprietreſs of the diamonds and jewels belonging to an egret which was given to her by her grandmother, and other jewels given to her by her father and her mother. Conſequently the citizen Loir ought to look upon himſelf as the holder in truſt of theſe articles, which he is to give up only to the proprietreſs herſelf, or to any one empowered by her to receive the ſame. Thus reſolved at Paris this 6th of Nov. 1792."

"It was with ſuch falſe reaſoning as this that the advocate Laroque wanted to perſuade the jeweller of his ſafety. But he had read ſomewhere that a girl under fourteen years of age has not the right of appointing an agent; becauſe a minor cannot do any thing in law of herſelf, nor can at that age poſſeſs what is called goods, meaning the fruit of honeſt induſtry. This the advocate ſo clearly ſaw himſelf, that he himſelf warned the miniſter of it, who had the jewels brought to

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the common ſtock. They conſiſted principally of a necklace of thirty-one diamonds, a ring of one brilliant, a watch-chain ornamented with brilliants, a pair of earrings *à-la-Mirza*, and thirteen diamonds not ſet. All theſe diamonds originally compoſed the egret which the empreſs her grandmother and godmother had given her as a preſent at her birth."

"Since we are here in the queen's dreſſing-room, let us examine it," ſaid the Engliſhman. —"With all my heart, particularly as we have nothing to ſee in the room we have juſt left."— "See how this room is ſurrounded."—"Here are all round a kind of cloſets of a moſt beautiful wood, in which the queen's clothes were locked up. They are ſtill full of them." The commiſſary opened ſeveral, and the Engliſhman examined with the greateſt attention and exactneſs all the dreſſes they contained. A pair of dimity ſtays ſeemed moſt to ſtrike him. He took them up, and, after having turned them round and round, he ſaid to us; "You muſt laugh at ſeeing the attention I am paying to theſe trifles; I wanted to have ocular conviction of what has been told me. I have laid a bet upon it."—"Upon what?" —"I betted, before I left London, with a certain

lord, that the queen of France was deformed, and I engaged to bring home a proof of it at my return. And here I have the proof in this pair of ſtays. Look at this ſhoulder, how much ſtuffing there is upon it, while there is none on the other. So no doubt but the queen had one ſhoulder higher than the other."—"*We* certainly have no doubt of it," was our anſwer. "Princes have bodily defects as well as cabinet ſecrets; and they are much better known in foreign countries, than in their own court."—"If you wiſh, in order to gain ſtill more certain information on the ſubject, to have ſome converſation with the queen's mantua-maker, I will give you her addreſs."—"You will do me a favour; and now I want to aſk of you how I can make this pair of ſtays my own?"—"Nothing ſo eaſy; to-morrow I will put it up to auction with ſome other articles of female dreſs*.

The

* The ſale of the furniture of the Tuileries was in the ſpring of 1793, and laſted ſix months. A new adminiſtration having taken the place of the commiſſion put a ſtop to the auction, which was not half over. What remained of furniture, linen, and other effects, was reſerved for the wants of the committees of the convention. Notwithſtanding the immenſe quantity of furniture remaining, all was put into uſe; it would be difficult to ſay by what means. What always ſurprized me was the low price at which the king's wardrobe

The ſale is public; you will buy it, and the auctioneer will give you an extract from his book of ſale, in which it ſhall be mentioned that theſe ſtays uſed to be worn by the queen. You muſt add to this the teſtimony of the mantua-maker, and your wager will be won."—"Your advice is good, I will follow it."

Two ſmall paintings ornamented the queen's dreſſing-room; one was a vaſe of flowers by madame Lebrun; the other the portrait of a little lap-dog, of which the queen was very fond. They had both been run through with pikes. "What a pity," ſaid Lord Bedfort; "to what will not the fury of the people extend! There are doubtleſs in this palace pictures of value,

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wardrobe ſold. Each cloth coat with a pair of breeches of the ſame fetched from about 80 to an 100 livres; his embroidered coats ſold ſtill worſe: I ſaw 110 livres given for that worked in peacock's feathers, which coſt 15,000 livres; and 120 for that embroidered in every kind of flower, for which the king had paid 30,000 livres. It was the ſame perſon who bought all the embroidered coats. The wardrobes of the queen and madame Elizabeth ſold much better. I had always thought that there would be a great concourſe of people crouding to this auction, and that every thing which had belonged to the royal family would ſell very dear; but I was ſurprized to ſee at it only pawn-brokers, who frequent all ſales, and a few private people who bought nothing.

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which ornament the apartments; did they ſhare the effects of the ſame fury?"—"Happily not; theſe are the only ones which are damaged. What few maſter-pieces there were here of this kind, are carried to the muſeum, where they are put up. They are; the family of Darius at the feet of Alexander, by Lebrun; the pilgrims of Emmaus, by Paul Veroneſe; the rape of Dejanira by the centaur Neſſus, by Guido René; one of the labours of Hercules,—Hercules on the funeral pile, by the ſame maſter; Vulcan forging the arms of Achilles, by Vandyke; and Æneas carrying his father Anchiſes, by Carraccio."—"As there is nothing more worth notice in this room, let us go on."

"Stop a minute; there is in this room a large cloſet, hid by a door, which I ſhould like you to look for."—"I may look indeed on all ſides, but I ſee neither joints nor lock."—"Preſs upon that nail."—The Engliſhman did as he had been directed; and immediately part of the cloſet ſpringing forward, and a pannel of the wood-work opening of itſelf, preſented to our ſight a cloſet of about ſeven feet in depth, and five in width. No crevice, no crack blabbed that there was a cloſet of the kind concealed there. This

place

place was known by ſcarcely any body except the queen herſelf; and I am perſuaded that the royal family might have hid themſelves in it without any fear of a diſcovery. The crowd of inſurgents, and the curious ſearched the palace all over; this bye-place alone eſcaped their inquiſitiveneſs. It would have been ſtill unknown, if that valet of the king's, whom I have already mentioned to you, had not pointed it out to me. We have transformed it into our magazine for ſuch valuable articles as we are every day finding. As the honeſty of Alexis is well known to us, we have entruſted it to his guardianſhip. This is the reaſon of his writing in this room. The box which he is now going to depoſit there will almoſt double the value of what it already contains. Come near, and you will ſee that every thing has not been ſtolen out of the Tuileries." I went in with the Engliſhman. A pile of plate half filled the place, and we looked into ſome caſes which contained jewels of all kinds.

" Where is the place of depoſit to which you ſend theſe things?"—" The gold and ſilver are ſent to the mint, after we have had them weighed by Auguſtus, the ſilverſmith to the crown. The diamonds and jewels are carried to a fund reſerved

ſerved for emergencies, whence part of them will be drawn for exchanges.*

" I ought to obſerve to you that all the articles of value which you ſee do not turn to the benefit of the nation: ſome of them belong to individuals who inhabited the caſtle; that is the reaſon they have labels upon them to ſay in what apartments in the palace each was found. When the proprietor of any of them brings us a proof of its belonging to him, we give it up to him. Yeſterday, for example, we delivered up to madame de Mackaw two dozen table cloths with her arms upon them."—" I think you muſt often make miſtakes in this buſineſs."—" Indeed

* Thoſe two beautiful diamonds, which the queen wore as ear-rings, were given in exchange to a foreign power, in 1794, for ſome corn with which it furniſhed France. To the ſame uſe was put the harneſs of the eight horſes of the ſacred carriage. Now we mention that immenſe carriage, I will tell you what became of it; after having been examined by the painter David, to aſcertain the value of the paintings on the pannels, which were thought to be very valuable, and which he decided to be very ordinary, he ſcratched them out with the point of a knife, and the coach was cut up, in order to pull off all the gold with which it was ornamented. All the iron about it which was gilt was ſent to the mint, to have this precious metal ſeparated from it, and the reſt of its fragments were ſold for leſs than 200 livres. I am not able to ſay how much they made in the whole of this carriage, which, with the harneſs, originally coſt above 150,000 livres.

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we do: with regard to the linen there is no difficulty; but with regard to the furniture we are often puzzled. When there is any doubt, for fear of getting ourſelves blamed, we refer to the miniſter, and then refuſe or grant, according to his order."—"Pray why is there ſo much difficulty with regard to the furniture?"

"I'll tell you.—All thoſe who inhabit any of the palaces have furniture found them by the king; the perſon who has the care of the furniture being ordered to ſupply them with whatever is neceſſary. Sometimes it happens that what is furniſhed does not ſatisfy the perſon it is for, and that the perſon who has the care of the furniture is unprovided with what is wanted; one of theſe two caſes then takes place; either the perſon who wants them has them made and buys them, or they are made and put into the king's bill. In the firſt caſe, they are his own property; but in the ſecond, if he is in a hurry to uſe them, they are immediately carried into his apartments inſtead of being firſt ſent to the perſon who has the care of the furniture to be ſtamped. Now as almoſt all the new furniture has not the mark of the crown upon it, and as we are nevertheleſs certain that very little of it belongs to the pri-

vate perſons who lived in the palace, we are very much puzzled, becauſe many of theſe perſons lay claim to every thing that has no ſtamp upon it. Upon every demand, we are obliged to make him who had the care of the furniture produce his inventory, which has for ſeveral years been kept in the moſt diſorderly manner. When it does not clear up the point, we aſk the claimant to ſhew us his bill from the maker of the article, and on ſeeing this we deliver it up. But that is of little uſe; for he who is ill diſpoſed enough to claim what does not belong to him, eaſily produces a falſe bill; and the honeſt man who has perhaps neglected to take care of his bills, loſes what really belongs to him. We have in vain requeſted leave to grant or refuſe according to the character of the claimant. The miniſter won't liſten to this expedient, and anſwers us that the character of perſons belonging to the court is the vileſt of all titles. This deciſion of the miniſter's is not known, and we are often obliged to fall under the hatred or contempt of thoſe whom we deprive of their property. I aſſure you that with the very beſt intentions, the moſt ſcrupulous equity, and the moſt loyal candour, we gather many more thorns

than

than roſes in our office, of which the annual emolument amounts only to 3,600 livres.

" I muſt warn you that to-morrow my occupations call me away from hence. I have buſineſs at Luxembourg, and at the ſmall ſtables in the Fauxbourg Saint Dennis; if you ſhould like to ſee the carriages and ſledges of the court, come and meet me at the latter of thoſe two places about noon."—" I ſhall come with pleaſure, provided our preſence is no interruption to you."—" To-morrow I ſhall expect to ſee you."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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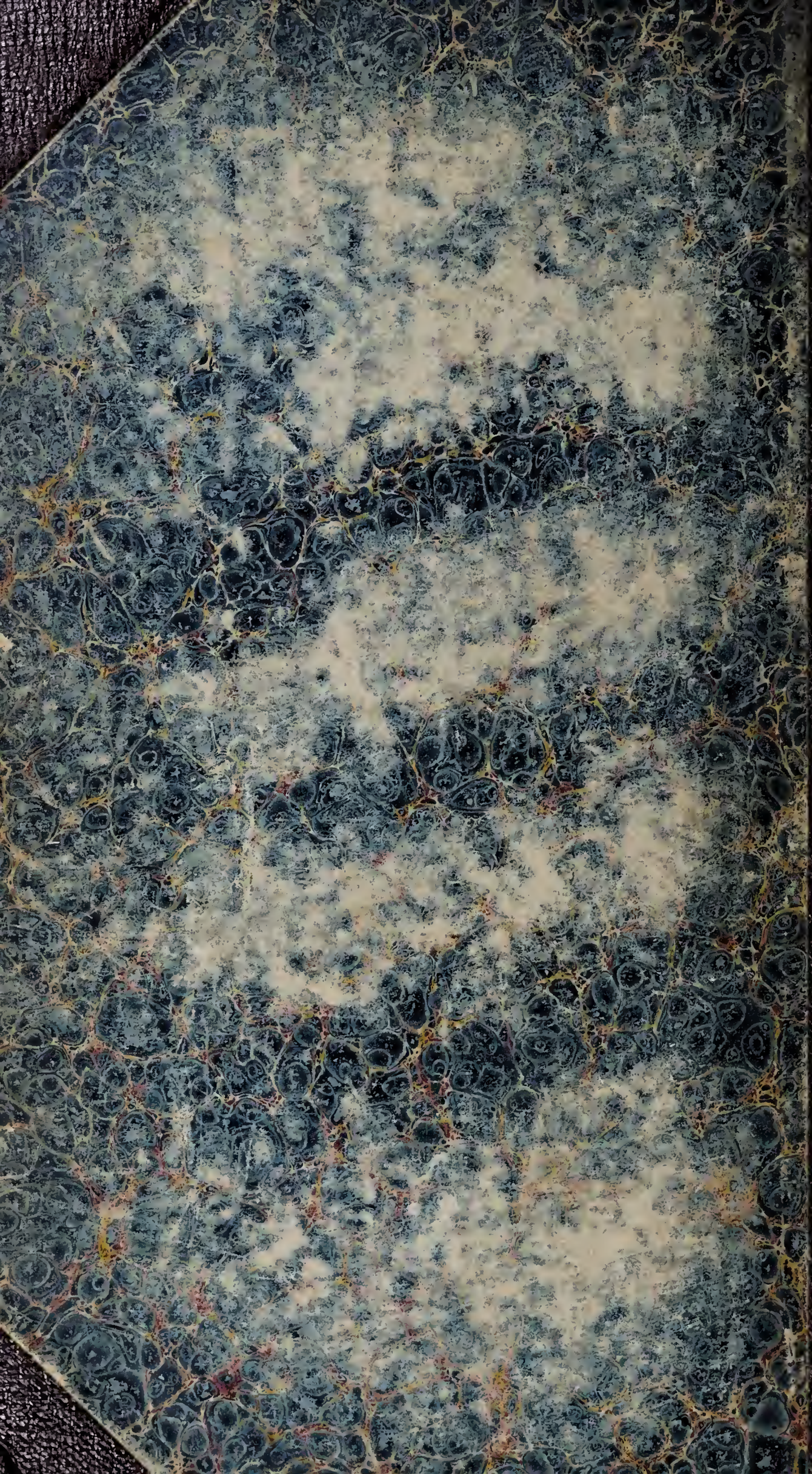
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